

Price

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GENERAL EDITOR'S PREFACE

I have pleasure in placing before the public Volume No. VI of the Fort William—India House Correspondence Series which is being brought out by the National Archives of India under Scheme I of its Publication Programme. It contains the relevant records of the late Public Department, Select and Secret Committees and covers the period 1770-2.

Our thanks are due to the Commonwealth Relations Office, London, for supplying us photographic copies of some letters that were not available in the records of the National Archives of India and for photographic copies of some of the illustrations printed in this volume. The Director General of Archaeology, Government of India also placed at our disposal some photographic copies of the illustrations for which we are grateful.

In bringing out this volume I am grateful for the help received from my colleagues, Dr. S. V. Desikachar and Dr. Jagdish Raj in preparing the manuscript and seeing it through the press.

*National Archives of India,
New Delhi,
2 February 1960.*

K. D. BHARGAVA
*Director of Archives,
Government of India.*

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CHAIRMEN AND DEPUTY CHAIRMEN OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY*

1770-2

<i>Year</i>		<i>Chairman</i>	<i>Deputy Chairman</i>
1770	... ..	Sir George Colebrooke (Bart.)	John Purling
1771	John Purling	George Dudley
1772	Sir George Colebrooke (Bart.)	Laurence Sullivan

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1770-2

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* The particulars given in the lists are based on Charles C. Prinsep's *Records of Services of the Honourable East India Company's Civil Servants in the Madras Presidency, 1741-1858* (London, 1885); the *Alphabetical List of Directors of the East India Company from 1758 to 1858*, compiled by C. H. and D. Phillips and published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, October 1941; and the *List of The Heads of Administrations in India and of The India Office in England* (Imperial Record Department, 1939).

† Read E. H. Cruttenden for W. Cruttenden whenever it occurs in the list of the signatories appended to the *Letters from Court*.

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INTRODUCTION

The letters in this volume relate to the years 1770 to 1772, virtually the period of Cartier's Governorship of Bengal and the early days of Warren Hastings's rule. These years may be regarded as the formative period of British policy in India in which the transition from a commercial to an imperial role was clearly in evidence. A mercantile company had grown conscious of its new position and was forging measures and adopting principles which soon helped to transform it into a sovereign political authority on its way to the establishment of universal sway over India. The commercial interests of a dividend-seeking proprietary body came into conflict with the welfare and prosperity of the vast millions subject to its rule, and efforts were made to adjust the two. Plans were devised and schemes discussed to evolve an administrative system which would contribute to the better collection of revenues and the dispensation of justice. Schemes to reorganise the services were in contemplation, and these were directed not merely to the raising of the morale of the Company's servants but also to fit them to the growing needs of the new administration. The Company's Government both in England and India, was thus striving in these years to dissolve the defective structure of Clive's "Double Government" and pave the way for Warren Hastings' administrative system.

The correspondence is in two parts: (1) the letters and despatches addressed by the Government of Bengal to the Court of Directors in London, and (2) the despatches sent by the Court of Directors to their servants at Fort William. The former were addressed by two authorities, the Council and the Select Committee. The Council's letters relate to general matters pertaining to the affairs of Fort William and its quarterly despatches are generally divided into eight sections: shipping; goods from Europe or from one part of India to another; investments; trade of India, transactions with country powers and European nations; fortifications, buildings and revenues; covenants; military servants and their accounts; and the Charter establishing the Calcutta Corporation. Every measure concerning trade and investment, or expenditure from the revenues, as well as all matters relating to the discipline and personnel of the services, both civil and military, find a place in these general despatches. Shipping forms an important part of this correspondence. The letters include lists of persons sailing by every ship to England and also lists of writers, etc., who arrived in the country for the Company's service. Apart from the wealth of interesting information furnished by them on the behaviour of the services, they deal particularly with two subjects of immense importance for the study of the economic history of Bengal: first, the establishment of the silk reeling industry in the Company's factories, and secondly, provision of "investments" for export to England and the best method of procuring it.

Far more interesting, however, is the correspondence of the Select Committee, which had been established for the purpose of conducting "everything that relates to the Country Government, either with respect to the *Duannee* or the Company's political interests with the neighbouring powers,

together with the military operations depending thereon". Its main function was "to negotiate with the *Soubah* and the country powers". Another important function was "to superintend the collection of the revenues arising from the *Duannee*, but without the power of disbursing them".¹ In this period these two subjects assume more than ordinary importance. Political situation in northern India was extremely intriguing. The return of the Marathas to the Gangetic plain reflected their desire to dominate Delhi politics. This reacted naturally on the security and mutual relations of the states of northern India. The Fort William Government did not remain a mere passive spectator because of the repercussions of these events on its allies, the Emperor at Allahabad and the Nawab of Oudh. The Select Committee letters, therefore, bear a record of the hopes and fears of the British rulers in Bengal and give us a glimpse into their policy, which was growing frankly imperialistic even at this stage.

The references to revenue matters are also of no mean interest. These years mark the visitation of a terrible famine in Bengal which dislocated the entire socio-economic structure of that province. The effect of the famine on the revenue collections and the attempt to restore the norm, together with the early measures adopted by Warren Hastings for a new revenue settlement, are fully described in the correspondence.

The Court of Directors' despatches generally deal with matters relating to their trade and investment, and convey their orders and instructions on various subjects connected with the affairs of Bengal. Their keenness for the success of the experiment in silk reeling is evident from the constant recurrence of the subject in these despatches. Their anxiety for increasing the revenue collections is undoubted. They gave expression to their virtuous resentment at the reported misbehaviour of their servants at the time of the famine. And more outspoken were their remonstrances on the misconduct of their servants in Bengal. Their financial worries were not inconsiderable and find expression in their repeated expostulations for economy. But very few references are available about their views in respect of the Indian political situation, except that they were alarmed at the growing power of the Marathas, and were keen to prevent the resurgence of French political power or commercial interests in India.

The importance of these papers, thus, for a student of Indian history cannot be gainsaid. The foundations of the entire structure of the Anglo-Indian administration as it emerged in later years and the whole edifice of the political policy followed by successive Governors General may be traced back to the experiments, aspirations and tribulations of the early administrators that find expression in these letters. In the following pages will be outlined the main aspects of this correspondence under separate headings. I shall take first the Company's policy towards the Indian as well as the European powers, and then deal with matters relating to revenue, trade, civil services, etc., thus distinguishing the subjects dealt with by the Select Committee from those of the General Council.

¹ D. N. Banerjee, *Early Administrative System of the East India Company in Bengal*, Volume I (1765-74), p. 290.

*Relations with Indian powers**(i) Political situation : background and general appraisal*

After the battle of Panipat in 1761 the Indian political situation was in a flux and kaleidoscopic changes were occurring in northern India. The fugitive Emperor Shah Alam, after vainly trying to seek refuge in the eastern provinces, settled in Allahabad virtually as a British pensioner, and Delhi continued to be dominated by Najibud-Daulah till his death. The recurring invasions of Ahmad Shah Abdali ceased in 1769. The Sikhs, the Jats and the Rohillas had been consolidating their positions. Nawab Shujaud-Daulah of Oudh, frustrated in his ambition to dominate the eastern regions, had been compelled by his defeat at Buxar and its aftermath to depend more and more on the British military power for his security. The disastrous episode of 1761 had stunned the Marathas for a while and northern India had a temporary respite from their frequent raids. Moreover, their internal differences and the minority of the reigning Peshwa had left them weak, and precluded the possibility of their pursuing an aggressive policy at an early date.

This situation was reflected clearly in the policy of the East India Company, which might be termed as one of "isolation". The British were to lie snugly ensconced in the provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. This policy was laid down for the Bengal Council by Lord Clive in his testamentary letter to the Select Committee of 16 January 1767.² His injunction was, "Studiously maintain peace,—it is the groundwork of our prosperity; never consent to act offensively against any powers, except in defence of our own, the King's or the Nawab Vizier's dominions". He was opposed to "a march to Delhi", which he regarded as a "vain and fruitless project". His view of the character of the Vazir persuaded him to believe that the latter could "never engage against us in another war". He warned the Select Committee not to encourage his aggressive ambitions against his neighbours. He considered Shah Alam as a "troublesome royal guest", who could be got rid of by being escorted to Delhi by Shujaud-Daulah, but without any assistance from the British. He had no fears of the Rohillas, the Jats or other northern powers. As regards the Marathas he suggested an agreement with Janoji Bhonsle in respect of Orissa, and an alliance with Nizam Ali of Hyderabad which would keep the Poona Marathas quiet. By these measures he hoped to provide "security" and "tranquillity" to Bengal, and the "distracted and divided" state of the Indian powers gave him confidence in the future.

The situation did not materially differ in the time of Verelst, for even though the northern movement of the Marathas had commenced in 1767, it had not yet enveloped the Gangetic plain. Verelst also based the foundations of British security, first on the military weakness of the Indian powers arising from their financial difficulties consequent upon "the general indigence of the Mogul Empire",³ and secondly on "the discordancy of the principles, views, and interests of the neighbouring powers, which must ever defeat any project of

² *Bengal and Madras Papers*, Vol. III, 1757-85.

³ Verelst's *Letter to the Court of Directors*, 28 March 1768 ;—Harry Verelst: *A view of the rise, progress and present state of the English Government in Bengal*. Appendix No. XXIV, p. 100.

accomplishing, by an association, what the wealth or power of a single one must prove unequal to".⁴ His hope, therefore, was natural that "thus circumstanced, it will always be easy for a watchful and active administration on our side to hold the general balance of Hindostan and crush every ambition in the bud, by spiriting up some neighbouring power, who may be either ill-disposed, or at least not favourable to the confederates".⁵ He laid great value by the military occupation of Allahabad and urged the "necessity of retaining His Majesty under our influence".⁶ His views about the Emperor may be summarised in his words: "We must either contrive to guide him at a distance or so to palliate, that, if unsuccessful, he may consider us as his protectors, our provinces as the place of his refuge".⁷ The importance of control over the Emperor's person appears to have been fully realised now, and Verelst was loth to let others have a dominant influence at his court. The other ally, the Nawab of Oudh, was not at all regarded dangerous, because it would "always be in our power to direct the force he has to such purposes as may best conduce to the interest of the Honourable Company and the general peace".⁸ His character emboldened Verelst to regard him as a "much proper instrument to accomplish the Company's main point, the maintaining themselves the umpires of Hindostan".⁹

Two circumstances, however, had appreciably modified the situation on the eve of Verelst's departure: one, the increasing menace of Maratha expeditions into northern India and their frank desire to control Delhi politics, and the other, the growing awareness of the future role of the East India Company in Indian politics. The earlier policy of isolation and the smug confidence in the security of Bengal could not remain unaffected for long, for the ambition of maintaining the empire of Hindustan was threatened by the fast spreading Maratha supremacy in northern India. Hence, the English soon grew conscious of the Marathas as their main enemy, which fact largely influenced their diplomacy and motivated their military and political activities. The importance of the Emperor was now greatly enhanced and the control over his person was desired by the two contending rivals. Faced with the prospect of Maratha opposition, the English Company could not afford to lose the alliance of the Nawab of Oudh, whose political and military resources might be utilised for the furtherance of its imperial ambitions. Just as in 1767 the British had sought to form a confederacy of the Indian powers to stem the advance of the Abdali, so now the Calcutta Government was eager to organise a league of the Jats, the Rohillas, the Vazir and the Emperor to force the Marathas back into Central India. Thus, in these years were sown the seeds of the policy which blossomed in the time of Warren Hastings and Wellesley into British paramountcy.

The gravity of the situation was realised early in 1770 when it was reported that Mir Kasim had emerged from obscurity and was concerting plans "to form

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

⁶ Verelst's *Letter to John Cartier and members of the Select Committee*, 16 December 1769; Harry Verelst, *op. cit.*,—Appendix No. XXVIII, p. 125.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Verelst's *Letter to the Court of Directors*, 28 March 1768; Harry Verelst, *op. cit.*, Appendix No. XXIV, p. 102.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

a league of the Marathas and the chiefs of northern India to attack the British". He had been offered refuge by the Rana of Gohad, and he depended on the Marathas, the Sikhs and Ghaziud-Din Khan, as well as the Rohillas, for support. And coinciding with the return of the Maratha forces into northern India, the danger seemed to be all the greater. However, Mir Kasim's adventure soon burst like a bubble and his forces melted away owing to the instability of his finances.

The Select Committee could now heave a sigh of relief, but their complacency was temporary. The Marathas had in the first instance directed their arms against Rajputana and the Jat territories. They had defeated the forces of Nawal Singh Jat and moved on to Mathura. But they were not able to acquire possession either of Dig or Agra, which circumstance the Select Committee fondly hoped would check "their progress and may one day lay the foundation for their extirpation". This hope was soon belied when Dig was annexed by the Marathas and Najibud-Daulah, terrified at the return of his enemies of the south, opened negotiations with them. The constant Sikh menace, the desire to crush the growing power of the Jats, the hope of restoring the Emperor to his throne at Delhi and the fear of the Maratha power were the factors which influenced his decision. Added to these motives was his desire to protect the Rohillas from harm. The Marathas soon encamped at Koil (Aligarh) and directed their arms to the reconquest of their lost territories in the Doab from the Pathans and the Rohillas. There opened out at this time a stream of intrigues and negotiations wherein each power tried to fend for itself and ward off the evil day. At one time it seemed as if a league of Indian powers would be formed under the leadership of the Marathas and a stable political system might emerge in Hindusthan. Even the Emperor and Shujaud-Daulah sent their vakils to the Maratha camp. The Marathas invited the Emperor to return to his capital, and their offer was reinforced by the entreaties of the queen-mother and Najibud-Daulah. But the year 1770 terminated without any gleam of light being visible in the dark clouds of Indian politics. Najibud-Daulah died in October. He had kept the Marathas away from Delhi and had staved off the danger facing the Rohillas. His fond hope of uniting the Marathas and the Rohillas ended with his death, and in 1771 began the onward march of the southern hordes against Rohilkhand and a determined move by them to dominate Delhi politics by re-establishing Shah Alam there.

The next two years were marked by recurring Maratha incursions into the Rohilla territory in search of plunder. Their relations with Zabita Khan, the son and successor of Najibud-Daulah, were characterised neither by wisdom nor by continuity of policy. Divided counsels and mutual jealousies among the Maratha generals were responsible for their halting and unstable policy. Their threat to the Rohillas drove the latter into the arms of their hereditary enemy, the ruler of Oudh. The Marathas were unable to adopt a definite policy towards Shujaud-Daulah. They could neither befriend him, nor muster sufficient courage to crush his political power. It is amazing how they failed to fraternize with the Sikhs or the Jats and thereby raise a confederacy against the Afghans. There can be no doubt of the eagerness of the Marathas to extend their sway over northern India, but this they intended to achieve by investing the Mughal Emperor with the halo of sovereignty and acting as his agents. They did not yet have the courage to set him aside and proclaim the

Peshwa as the suzerain of Delhi. The traditional respect for Akbar's descendant, and the awe inspired by the very name of the Mughal Emperor, were still powerful factors which prevented usurpation of the Imperial throne by any of the newly emerging local sovereigns in India. Therefore the Marathas occupied themselves only with the game of filling the Delhi throne. If Shah Alam could not be moved out of Allahabad, they were prepared to raise a *Shahzada* to the throne, and Ghaziud-Din, their ally, had definitely made a suggestion to this effect. However, Shah Alam, being disappointed in his hope of being escorted by the British and Shujaud-Daulah to Delhi, listened with alacrity to the overtures of Visaji Pandit and Mahadji Sindia. Ultimately the Marathas succeeded in enticing him to Delhi. Having achieved this they dissipated their energy in fighting the Rohillas in the name of the Emperor. Two years were wasted in these fruitless adventures, and when on the death of Madhava Rao Peshwa, and later owing to the chaos in Poona arising out of the murder of Narayan Rao, the Maratha forces withdrew from Delhi, they left behind them a confusion in which the central authority was irretrievably impaired, and the Emperor became the victim of the caprice of every unscrupulous upstart. Their negative policy, vacillating attitude, and inadequate appreciation of the developments in northern India led directly to the rapid strengthening of the power of the East India Company, which paved the way for its ultimate bid for supremacy.

(ii) *Company's policy towards the Marathas and the Mughal Emperor*

The main problem that Cartier and his Council were to tackle was the situation arising from the open attempt of the Marathas to take possession of the person of Shah Alam and establish their own supremacy nominally acting in his name. The first threat to the Company's security, however, came from the intrigues and activities of Mir Kasim. When the news of his machinations arrived, and there was fear of an invasion of Bengal by way of Bundelkhand, Cartier sought the friendship of Raja Hindupat of Bundelkhand and asked Raja Balwant Singh of Benares to strengthen his forces. Oudh and the Emperor's dominions were rightly deemed to be the first line of defence and their protection was the principal obligation of the Company. The Select Committee drew up a comprehensive plan of defence in consultation with Sir Robert Barker. The Committee was, however, not prepared to extend the area of its military activities or "court disturbances for the sake of new country or military glory".¹⁰ At this time they were reluctant to move their forces even beyond the Karamnasa for fear of the French and because of the positive orders of the Court of Directors to confine their arms within the limits of Bengal. While taking the necessary precautions they were prone to belittle the "conjunction" of "the Marathas, or Sikhs or Cossim Aly Cawn" unless "joined by Sujah Dowlah or adorned with the name of Royalty", when they were liable to become "serious objects of our concern".¹¹ As matters stood they did not apprehend much trouble as in the past "by showing a determined face at the beginning in Hindostan the greatest confederacies have been broken"¹² When

¹⁰ *Select Committee Letter to Court*, 18 February 1770, para 4.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*

the danger passed off, they again observed "that the quarrels of the Hindostan powers amongst themselves concur almost equally with the terror of our arms to maintain your possessions in repose, and we shall ever make it a rule of our conduct to be in such cases mere spectators."¹³

But as early as May the Governor and Council were faced with a new danger, no less acute, by "the rapid growth of the Marrattah power in Hindostan",¹⁴ which grew in intensity as the year advanced. The incursion of the Marathas into Hindustan convinced the Select Committee that they were "filled with no vain hopes of re-establishing the foundations of their ancient influence and grandeur in the Empire".¹⁵ Their alliance with Najibud-Daulah, which the Select Committee could not easily account for, and the inclination of the Rohillas to join this league did not excite any alarm in the British mind, because the junction of Najibud-Daulah and Ghaziud-Din with the Marathas had "not only effectually disjoined the King and Vizir from them but totally changed their system of action. The King is threatened with a pretender to his throne, the Nabob Shujah-ul-Doulah with a competitor for the Vizerate".¹⁶ The Select Committee therefore entertained the hope that Najibud-Daulah's self-interest would not be reconciled with "the re-establishment of the present King",¹⁷ who would certainly give no quarter to Ghaziud-Din. They also believed that an alliance with Shujaud-Daulah would not suit the interests of the Marathas "whose sole aim is universal sway", for then the Marathas "would have to share the honor and the power with the Vizier whereas at present they have the unrivalled possession of both".¹⁸ While having no faith in the King's professions or the Vazir's protestations, the Calcutta Government banked on their apprehensions and alarm as elements favourable to the security of Bengal.

By the end of June 1770, it was apparent that Ghaziud-Din's plan of raising a new king would not materialise. It had occasioned differences among the confederates, and the Select Committee was even encouraged to hope that Najibud-Daulah would quit the alliance. The remarks of the Select Committee on the political morality of the Indian chiefs deserve attention: "The consequence of this difference of opinion has been jealousy, disgust, and intrigue, and though it is difficult to judge of events in a country where the leaders are influenced by caprice more than policy, it does not appear improbable that Nijibeul-Dowlah may be ultimately induced by his superior good sense and the apparency of his interest to quit his present unnatural alliance and set himself at the head of an association against the Marrattahs".¹⁹

The commanding position of the Marathas in the Doab, the absence of any symptoms of opposition to them by the neighbouring powers, and the revival of the Emperor's ambition for regaining his throne awakened a sense of danger in the Calcutta Government. In their letter of 31 August 1770, the Select Committee reviewed the situation and outlined their attitude with a remarkably keen political insight and a sturdy sense of self-preservation. They frankly recognised the Marathas as a power "which we have most to fear

¹³ *Select Committee Letter to Court*, 18 March 1770, para 8.

¹⁴ *Select Committee Letter to Court*, 9 May 1770, para 4.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, para 8.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, para 9.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Select Committee Letter to Court*, 28 June 1770, para 3.

from, and consequently right to be most jealous of".²⁰ In this setting they analysed the conduct of the other powers and scrutinised the alternative modes of counter-acting the Maratha predominance. The Rohillas had shown some inclination to resist the invaders but, unsupported by the Jats or the Nawab Vazir of Oudh, they could not make any headway. Regarding these two, the Select Committee rightly moaned that "there is but too much reason to apprehend that a divided government will withhold the former and jealousy inflamed by a rooted enmity will the latter, so that in all probability the present favourable and singular opportunity of giving check to the career of these disturbers of Hindostan will be suffered to pass unessayed".²¹ The Company's Government entered into correspondence with all these powers, particularly Oudh, bringing home to them the immensity of the danger. Their appeal to Shujaud-Daulah's bravery and sense of pride, their exhortation that "All eyes are at this moment turned towards him, and Hindostan hopes that he will not let her children be food for the swords of the haughty Mahrattas, and thinks that he alone can hold the balance between them and the rest of the Empire",²² or their remonstrances that he was behaving no better than the other chiefs and watching the destruction of the Rohillas and that self-interest as well as policy required him to help the Rohillas against the Marathas,²³ had no effect on the Vazir, who refused to take any action unsupported by the British. The Select Committee was not wrong in concluding that "he secretly wishes rather to see the Rohillah country overrun by the Marrattahs than stand forth in its defence".²⁴

A most intriguing situation arose in the middle of 1770 by the revival of the Emperor's ambition to go to Delhi. The British were not prepared to help him in this adventure, for with the re-emergence of the Marathas it could not augur well for their interest. Their enquiry into the probable allies of the Emperor led them to conclude that neither the Vazir nor the Rohillas and Najibud-Daulah would help him to regain his throne in opposition to the Marathas.²⁵ Their estimate of the character and policy of these chiefs is noteworthy. The Select Committee concluded, "We would in short establish it almost as a certain proposition that it is contrary to the interest of any of these powers to assist His Majesty in his restoration, that singly neither of them can enter the list with the Marrattahs, and that to form them into one body in one cause is from the political genius of Hindostan, the characteristic manners of the people in general, and of the chiefs in particular, is improbable if not an impracticable event".²⁶ At the same time they defined their own policy by stating, "Whether His Majesty acts in conjunction with or against the Marrattahs it would be equally absurd in us to engage in the expedition".²⁷ Accordingly they strongly dissuaded the Emperor from undertaking the expedition and warned him against trusting the Marathas by exaggerating the dangers

²⁰ *Select Committee Letter to Court*, 31 August 1770, para 7.

²¹ *Ibid.*, para 3.

²² Letter to the Vazir of Oudh, 5 May 1770. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. III, No. 196.

²³ Letter to the Vazir of Oudh, 18 June 1770. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. III, No. 263.

²⁴ *Select Committee Letter to Court*, 31 August 1770, para 3.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, para 4.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, para 5.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, para 7.

arising from their aggrandisement, and the crisis was tided over for the time being.

The march of events after the monsoon—the inability of the Rohillas or the Jats to exercise a check on the aggressive intentions of the Marathas, the unseemly haste with which the Emperor was prepared to throw himself on their support and the equivocal conduct of Shujaud-Daulah—led to a positive increase in the power and prestige of the Marathas and brought into full prospect the precariousness of the Company's position. The Select Committee chafed at the restrictions placed by the Court of Directors upon their liberty of action in respect of foreign policy and military operations. They rightly argued that by the discomfiture of the Rohillas, "the dominions of the King and Sujah-ul-Dowlah will be either exposed to the depredations of the Morattahs, or the King and Vizier must join their cause. In the former case, we are bound by treaty to unsheath the sword; in the latter, we shall be compelled to it in our own defence. War therefore appears inevitable".²⁸ When again after Najibud-Daulah's death, despairing of getting any support from the English, Shah Alam resolved to throw himself into the hands of the Marathas, the situation grew worse, and the Select Committee strongly protested to the Court of Directors against "the conduct which you seem to have prescribed." They grew alarmed at the damage which would result to their interests by the Marathas having Shah Alam "at their head" or by their setting up a new ruler. They wrote, "It would give authority to every measure they may take, would draw new swarms of their countrymen to their standard, would enable them to possess countries and form alliances which at present they can have neither means nor pretence for obtaining, would in case of a rupture with the French give to our national enemies here and on the Coast all that sanction which our measures have hitherto had, and would justify the Vizier by law and perhaps by necessity in taking arms against us. The only certain means of preventing the great mischiefs, and of securing that barrier which is so necessary to the safety of your dominions, would be to march such a body of troops as might be sufficient to expell the Morattahs, to secure the safety and possession of the King's son, and to give the King what further satisfaction might be necessary".²⁹ For a bold policy as this the Directors' sanction was not forthcoming. However, the movement of Maratha forces towards the Vazir's dominions led the Calcutta Government to take the determined step of giving "such assistance to your allies as may enable them to defend their respective dominions,"³⁰ even without a requisition from them. Thus, by the end of 1770, the Company's servants in Bengal were led to take measures to anticipate the Maratha danger and be prepared to meet it. The new situation warranted it; and the interest of their security, and the magnitude of their political ambitions, provided a justification for such a conduct.

The main interest of the year 1771 lies in the progress of the Maratha armies in the Doab and the growing threat to the peace and security of the Rohillas. The nearness of the war region to the dominions of Shujaud-Daulah and the Emperor greatly alarmed the British, who not only prepared for resist-

²⁸ *Select Committee Letter to Court*, 31 October 1770, para 28.

²⁹ *Select Committee Letter to Court*, 24 December 1770, para 23.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Postscript dated 31 December 1770, para 2.

ance but also again exhorted the Vazir to save the Rohillas from ruin. Shujaud-Daulah's attitude, however, occasioned distrust, which was heightened by the rumours of his negotiations with the enemy. The Select Committee could no longer have the same confidence in him or "be without the most serious apprehensions". They wrote, "Could we rely upon his sincerity, we should be less concerned at the progress of the Morattahs, as it would perhaps be in our power to re-establish the Rohillahs and Jauts, whenever the necessity of affairs" could justify. "But if these formidable invaders, after conquering the powers which formed the principal barrier and establishing themselves in these countries, should be abetted and supported by the Vizier, it would require all our force and all our vigilance to resist their united efforts".³¹ Luckily for the British the situation soon altered with the return of the Maratha forces to Delhi, ostensibly at the instigation of Shah Alam, who, being disappointed at the British promises, had resolved to throw himself on the support of the Marathas in order to regain his throne. While this relieved the immediate danger to the Vazir's dominion and ultimately to the security of Bengal, there arose the imminent prospect of the Marathas gaining possession of the Emperor's person.

Cartier and his Council fully realized the magnitude of the danger and adopted every means to dissuade the Emperor from throwing in his lot with the Marathas to establish himself at Delhi. At one stage they even endorsed Shujaud-Daulah's proposal to restore the Emperor with the help of the Rohillas, firstly because "to have denied our assent to what was so improbable to happen would have weakened that tie of friendship which we wish to preserve inviolate with the King and Vizier"; and secondly because "to prevent him from listening to the persuasion of the Morattahs, we thought it better he should owe his restoration to the Vizier than to them". They further justified their action by the argument that as the King could not be prevented, except by a restraint on his person, from throwing himself into the hands of the Marathas, which "might have been attended with most serious consequences", they had no alternative but to agree to this measure.³² But lack of effective aid from the British, the supineness of the Vazir and the instability of the Rohillas combined to make the effort abortive. And the inevitable soon came to pass. Shah Alam, against the wishes of Cartier and Shujaud-Daulah, finally decided to throw himself on the support of the Marathas and resolved to leave Allahabad. The British parted with him in good grace, and the Vazir gave him aid in troops and money. The slow progress of the Emperor's march sustained the Select Committee's interest for many months, till ultimately he arrived at his capital on 6 January 1772.

Possessed of the King's person and strengthened by the prestige of his title, the Marathas soon started on a further course of aggression against the Rohillas and the neighbouring chiefs. Their policy in this respect was, however, "equally various and inconsistent".³³ At one time Zabita Khan was supported by them, while at others his territories were attacked and his person was in danger. Their own internal differences and mutual dissensions may account for this vacillating and contradictory policy. If the Marathas had hoped to use the Emperor's name for establishing their sway in the Gangetic

³¹ *Select Committee Letter to Court*, 18 January 1771, para. 5.

³² *Select Committee Letter to Court*, 31 March 1771, para. 6.

³³ *Select Committee Letter to Court*, 31 August 1771, para. 12.

basin, their divisions and their fruitless Rohilla campaigns, directed more to the pursuit of plunder than to the acquisition of territory, prevented them from making any progress. The Vazir's dominions remained inviolate and the security of the British possessions continued unaffected. The probability of the extinction of the Rohilla power and the consequent exposure of Oudh to Maratha attacks led the Calcutta Government to rouse the Vazir to some activity in defence of the Rohillahs. But his own ideas of self-interest and his hereditary enmity towards them prompted him to a contrary course. His reported intrigues with the Marathas, his treaties with the Rohillas, and his dilatoriness despite the exhortations of Sir Robert Barker make a sickening impression on the student of the political events of this period. The Marathas failed to gain any political advantage from the supineness of the Vazir, and were compelled even to break with the King at the end of 1772. Their behaviour at this time not only exposed their inherent weakness but also antagonised the north Indian chiefs and roused the opposition of their subjects against them, which proved destructive of their prospects of establishing their sovereignty over northern India.

The threat to the security of Bengal had passed. Nevertheless, the danger of simultaneous Maratha attacks from two directions, Orissa and Hindustan, had stared the Calcutta authorities in the face. Cartier's hope of counteracting it lay in reconciling Janoji Bhonsle on the one hand, and maintaining a barrier of friendly states in Hindustan on the other. The defection of the Emperor and the declining power of the Rohillas and the Pathans made the British rely increasingly on the loyalty of Shujaud-Daulah, whose strength was to be maintained at all costs, and whose dependence on the East India Company ensured by every means. They strove to protect the Rohillas through the agency of the Vazir, which later culminated in Warren Hastings' ignominious Rohilla episode. As regards the Marathas, the Select Committee frankly acknowledged them as a rival and hostile power, who "have taken such large strides towards the total sovereignty of Hindostan, that it behoves us to be extremely jealous of their acquiring strength on our frontiers, and this likewise interests us in any success of their arms which one day may be directed against the Company's possessions".³⁴ Herein are contained the germs of the future British policy towards the Marathas, whose supremacy had to be annihilated if the British foothold in Bengal and their imperial ambitions were to survive. Steadily and unobtrusively the march of British imperialism had commenced and in Cartier's time its ideological foundations were laid and the blueprint of its progress outlined.

(iii) *Company's policy towards the Vazir of Oudh*

British attitude towards Shujaud-Daulah was marked by a suspicion of his intentions, which deepened at every crisis. The Select Committee did not assess Shujaud-Daulah's character high. As early as 18 March 1770, the Committee wrote about him, "In the late scenes, after fluctuating between fear and ambition, at one time reserved as if ripe for hostilities, and at another resuming his wonted confidence, he has left no honourable impression of himself on either side, and we are inclined to think he has rendered himself

³⁴ *Select Committee Letter to Court*, 26 March 1772, para. 12.

as much suspected by the native powers as by ourselves. His ambition blinds his judgment, but his timidity at the moment of execution reverses all his schemes and disarms his ambition. Such a compound in his character affords us some degree of security, for was he as brave as enterprizing the contest would not be far off."³⁵ The Select Committee's lack of faith in Shujaud-Daulah's loyalty was greatly aggravated when, on the close approach of the Marathas, reports arrived of his sending to them an envoy. His supineness heightened their doubts. Moreover his behaviour towards the Rohillas was least calculated to reassure the British, who had suspected him, not without reason, of coveting the Rohilla territory, to acquire which he was supposed to have sought even the Maratha alliance. The Select Committee had also reason to suspect him of harbouring the French, who had built for him a fortress near Fyzabad and lent the services of M. Gentil. And when the Vazir took possession of Allahabad after the Emperor had left it for Delhi, their jealousy and suspicion of him greatly increased.

However, these incidents were not allowed to affect the British alliance with Shujaud-Daulah adversely. The assurance that he must ultimately depend on the English for his security, the trend of the alliances on the other side which included parties openly hostile to the Vazir's interests, and the fast-advancing threat of the Marathas, prevented the two from drifting apart. The East India Company had no other ally except the Vazir at a time when their security was none too assured. The Vazir, on the other hand, had to depend on the British to save himself from the Marathas. Thus, each needed the other, and despite doubts, suspicions, and occasional misgivings, the friendship between them continued unabated. The Vazir gave proof of his loyalty by meeting the wishes of the Company in the matter of succession to the Benaras Zamindari and the cession of the Chunar Fortress, and finally even entered into an agreement with the Rohillas at the instance of the Company. The presence of Sir Robert Barker or Colonel Harper with him and his absolute dependence on the British Commandant helped to hold him closer to the British. The Directors also had exhorted the Select Committee to "strive by every fair and honourable means to strengthen his friendship and engage his confidence", but at the same time adding a word of caution that "you must not abate of your attention to all his motions, nor forego any opportunity to impress him with an opinion of our activity and power".³⁶

By the treaty of 1765 as revised on 28 November 1768, the East India Company had assumed the obligation of protecting the Vazir's dominions against all enemies, and this was clear and unequivocal since by the latter treaty even the number of Shujaud-Daulah's forces was restricted to 35,000 men, including all arms. But the Directors' orders restrained them from entering into any political or military obligations beyond the frontiers of Oudh. The Select Committee wished to respect these orders, but in the face of the impending Maratha danger, it became imperative to extend British political operations beyond those limits. The Calcutta Government was keen to evolve a system of political alliances with the north Indian princes, and they desired to make use of Shujaud-Daulah for the purpose. In pur-

³⁵ *Select Committee Letter to Court*, 18 March 1770, para. 13.

³⁶ *Public Letter from Court*, 10 April 1771, para. 50.

suance of this policy they tried to bring about an understanding between the Vazir and the Rohillas. Left to himself, as stated earlier, Shujaud-Daulah would have seen the end of the Rohilla states, and it is suspected that at one time he was even prepared to come to an accommodation with the Marathas to achieve it. But the Calcutta authorities were keen on stemming the tide of the Maratha advance by interposing the Rohillas as a barrier between them and Oudh. The Vazir was exhorted to help the Rohillas; and when the latter were in a mood to negotiate with Shujaud-Daulah, Sir Robert Barker was allowed to accompany the Vazir, as otherwise the Rohillas would have had no faith in his sincerity. A treaty was signed stipulating payment of 40 lacs of rupees by the Rohillas to the Vazir on the condition that he would "assist them in future against their common enemy, and re-establish them in the possessions which had been wrested from them".³⁷ This treaty formed the basis of the famous Rohilla war of Warren Hastings. The Company also considered Hafiz Rahmat Khan and other Rohilla chiefs as its friends and allies though no formal diplomatic alliance existed.

Thus, the military dependence of the Vazir on the Company resulting from the treaties of 1765 and 1768 inevitably led to the subordination of Oudh in respect of his foreign policy also. Whether in respect of the Emperor or the Rohillas, Shujaud-Daulah was merely carrying out the behests of Cartier and subserving British interests. He was also a mere instrument of British policy in his dealings with the Marathas. This result, it is true, was achieved not by direct instructions but by an appeal to his sentiments of fear, greed and vanity. Admonition, persuasion, and cajolery, not threats, were the weapons employed. The net of British paramountcy was gradually and imperceptibly closing on him, and the way was being paved for the frank subordination of Oudh to British policy in the time of Warren Hastings.

Relations with European Powers

During 1770-2 British relations with the French were bordering on hostility though no actual breach of peace had occurred. Both the Court of Directors and the Council at Calcutta were apprehensive of French designs and suspected them of planning a sudden invasion of Bengal. Their fears were intensified by the reports of the assemblage of a large flotilla of ships and men at the Isle of France and Madagascar off the African coast, at a time when the political situation in northern India was none too favourable for the East India Company. The Directors exhorted the Calcutta Government to "continue to keep a watchful eye on the motions and proceedings of the French in particular, since the force said to be collected or collecting at the Islands cannot be considered as having only self-defence for the object".³⁸ Their analysis of the motives of the French is remarkable. They wrote, "Although political appearances in Europe are at present pacifick, we cannot but deem it absolutely necessary for you to be at all times upon your guard against a surprise, lest such be meditated by a nation whose commerce and influence having been diminished by our past successes; it may be supposed they will be ready to

³⁷ *Select Committee Letter to Court*, 10 November 1772, para. 11.

³⁸ *Public Letter from Court*, 25 March 1772, para. 26.

seize the first favourable opportunity of attempting to re-establish such commerce, and to recover their influence amongst the powers of India".³⁹ That commercial jealousy was the basic factor in their hostility is fully borne out by the earlier directions of the Directors "that you live on good terms with the French, so far as may be practicable; but it is no less our wish to supplant them, as far as we may safely and prudently do it, in their commerce".⁴⁰ It was not unnatural for the French to seek to regain their lost influence at a time when political developments in India afforded some hope of striking at their commercial rival and national enemy.

The Bengal Government was not slow to adopt measures to counteract the hostile intentions of the French, which had the full approbation of the Court of Directors. They posted officers, ostensibly acting under the authority of the Nawab of Bengal, at Kalpi on the Midnapore coast to keep a watch on the ships passing towards the Hooghly and to report on their equipment, armour, etc. They sent the schooner *Amazon* to cruise in the Bay of Bengal up to Ceylon scouting for the enemy's ships, and employed every means to get an estimate of the French strength off the southern coast of Africa. To be in readiness to meet a surprise attack, they were loth to send their armies northwards even when the Maratha pressure there was at its highest, and actually countermanded the orders of Sir Robert Barker directing the Pama Regiment to march into Oudh. They also organised a militia composed of the European residents of Calcutta. The British Government in October 1770 sent Admiral Harland with a moderate fleet into the eastern waters.

All these precautions proved to be unnecessary as the French had no effective means at the time to disturb the repose of their English rivals in India, particularly in view of the lack of any support from the Indian powers. But a number of incidents occurred which reflected the strained relations between the two powers.⁴¹ The French at Chandernagore were reported to be constructing new defences under the pretence of repairing a drain. The Calcutta Council regarded it as an infringement of the treaty of 1763, and, on the report of its Chief Engineer, secured their demolition. The Directors, while fully supporting the action of their subordinates, censured them for their delay in detecting this serious infraction of the treaty. Again, the Calcutta Council complained of the behaviour of the French towards the weavers employed by the English Company. They observed that the French "have made no investment for the present year, and their sole attention has been to recover by violent measures such balances as they may have contracted for years past, and that without much consideration of the miseries the country was lately reduced to".⁴² This action of the French was opposed and resisted by the English agents, and the Calcutta Government instructed the Supervisors to afford protection to the weavers affected. Another incident which caused a little flutter was the anchoring of a French ship opposite Budge Budge fortifications, and the refusal of its officer to move from that position. The French Government, on the other hand, complained of the seizure of certain boats

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Public Letter from Court*, 23 March 1770, para. 50.

⁴¹ See in particular *Secret Letter to Court*, 15 November 1771, for an account of the complaints of the French and the explanations given by the Calcutta Government.

⁴² *Secret Letter to Court*, 15 November 1771, para. 22.

belonging to its subjects by one Mr. Hales for the purpose of transporting *chunam* and also of the violent behaviour of the British soldiers when they encamped near Chandernagore and their entry into their colony, for both of which reparations were claimed. The Calcutta Council promptly took measures to redress the French grievances, but expressed their rage in the remark, "Or must we rather be of opinion that our neighbours wish to snatch at every trifle that they may thereon build a foundation for such outrages as they hope will serve them for a justification of some future attack upon our settlement, that jealous of our superior greatness in this country they use every method to blacken our conduct and strive to persuade the world that we exercise our power in the oppression of their colony and wantonly misuse our authority in insulting their nation?"⁴³ They resented these "calumniating attacks"⁴⁴ against those on whom depended the tranquillity of the French and protection of their trade in India. The dispute concerning the alleged demolition of the drainage works at Chandernagore and interruptions to the freedom of the French commerce in Bengal led to the appointment in June 1770 of Monsieur Law and Sir Robert Lindsay by the Governments of France and England respectively as plenipotentiaries, and they were instructed to settle these and other outstanding differences. The Calcutta Council was ordered to make all the papers available to the British plenipotentiary. Strained relations between the two nations, however, continued as before, since these were based on deeper causes of national honour and imperial rivalry.

Revenue

The collection of revenue, its settlement with the cultivator, zamindar or farmer, and its disbursements came within the purview of the Select and Secret Committees. The territories of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, from the point of revenue administration, may be classified into two divisions—the *Diwani* lands and the ceded or zamindari lands. The former were managed indirectly by the East India Company up to 1772 through the agency of the *Nab Diwan* Muhammad Riza Khan, and a host of native functionaries inherited from the previous regime. The latter were managed directly by the Company's servants under a Collector General, which system seems to have found favour with the Directors owing to the facility with which revenues could be collected and augmented without appreciable hardship to the people.

With the acquisition of the *Diwani* in 1765, the Court of Directors had hoped for higher revenues which might be adequate to meet the demands of their increasing investments, their commitments to the English nation, and the expenses of the civil and military administration, besides yielding a fair dividend to the Proprietors. Hence their disappointment was great when the revenues failed to show "considerable augmentations therein".⁴⁵ Then came the great famine of 1770, while the expenditure on civil establishments and military preparations was growing. The net collections in the year 1768-9 came to Rs. 1,52,54,856, and normally it was difficult to keep to this figure

⁴³ *Public Letter to Court*, 25 August 1770, para. 57.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, para. 58.

⁴⁵ *Public Letter from Court*, 23 March 1770, para. 142.

in the two succeeding years when the famine was raging in all its horror. Remissions had also to be granted and some balances remained unrealised. The Select Committee, in their letter of 11 September 1770, pointed out, "this calamity has had its influence on the collections; but we are happy to remark they have fell less short than we supposed they would."⁴⁶ The net collections in 1769 for Bengal amounted to Rs. 1,31,49,148, and in 1770, the year of the famine and mortality, to Rs. 1,40,06,030. The balance to be collected in 1769 was Rs. 6,14,219, while the remissions granted were to the extent of Rs. 8,03,321. These figures do not include the revenues of Bihar and the ceded districts. In spite of the ravages of the famine the settlement for 1770-1, made on 10 April 1770, was for the sum of Rs. 1,52,46,979, which the Select Committee had "some faint hopes of realising".⁴⁷ The net collections of 1771, Rs. 1,53,33,660, exceeded even those of 1768. The Bihar collections for the same period came to Rs. 46,26,695, which was in excess of the receipts of the preceding year by Rs. 4,25,747. The balance there amounted to Rs. 4,56,256 including the *taqavi* loan of Rs. 1,02,000, which was to be recovered in the succeeding years. These figures do not include the collections of Calcutta, Midnapore, Burdwan and Chittagong, where also the realisations, in spite of the famine and remissions, did not reach a low level. The calamity should have brought about a diminution of revenue; "that it did not was owing to its being violently kept up to its former standard".⁴⁸

The collections or settlements of revenue for the years 1770, 1771 and 1772 do not reflect the misery and starvation from which the population of Bengal then suffered. The settlement of 1770 was deemed by the Select Committee "to be rather calculated for a more flourishing state of the province than the state it was reduced to by the severity of a famine".⁴⁹ The settlement of 1771 for Rs. 1,66,37,147 for Bengal marked an increase of 14 lacs on the preceding one at a time when the country had scarcely begun to disclose any symptoms of recovery from the effects of the famine. This appeared even to the Select Committee "to be a very considerable addition to your annual revenue so immediately after a year which produced such variety of distress and calamity to the inhabitants".⁵⁰ The collections in 1771 came up to Rs. 1,53,33,660 (after deducting the amount of deficiencies owing to unavoidable losses), on which the Fort William Council remarked, "notwithstanding the loss of at least one-third of the inhabitants of the province, and the consequent decrease of the cultivation, the nett collections of the year 1771, exceeded even those of 1768".⁵¹ The apologetic manner in which the Select Committee justified remissions and explained balances clearly reveals the temper of the Company's employees, whose success and efficiency were judged by their ability to collect larger revenues which were demanded by the Directors, for whom gain was their first principle, and profit motive governed their policy.

The machinery of revenue administration that had been inherited from the late government contained all the elements of a degenerated system. Clive

⁴⁶ *Select Committee Letter to Court*, 11 September 1770, para. 5.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, para. 6.

⁴⁸ *Public Letter to Court*, 3 November 1772, para. 7.

⁴⁹ *Secret Letter to Court*, 15 November 1771, para. 3.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, para. 4.

⁵¹ *Public Letter to Court*, 3 November 1772, para. 6.

from policy, and Verelst from a genuine sense of the sanctity of "every symbol of the Nawab's independent rule", maintained the mask by having a *Naib Diwan* and collecting "their revenues by means of the indigenous machinery of the *Aumils*, *Tehsildars*, etc.". The effects of this "divided and complicated authority"⁵² were eloquently described by Verelst in his letter of 16 December 1769.⁵³ The Directors were also alive to the necessity of a change particularly in view of their happy experience in the ceded or zamindari districts. Hence they gradually introduced an element of superintendence and check by the institution of Councils of Revenue at Murshidabad and Patna under English servants, the *Naib Diwan* being relegated to the position of a mere salaried servant, accountable to the Council of Revenue. Meanwhile, Verelst had appointed Supervisors for every district, who were charged not only with the duty of collecting information, "but to take immediate action whenever their inquiries resulted in a detection of frauds". These supervisory authorities were superimposed on the existing irresponsible and corrupt agency, but they failed to effect any improvement in the system. The whole machinery broke down under the stress of the famine which exposed the venality of the English and the Indian functionaries alike. The fond hopes of the Directors to carry out reforms through the agency of the Supervisors were shattered by the reports of Becher, and others on the monopolising activities of the revenue officials which had aggravated the toll of lives taken by the famine. The Directors felt suspicious of Muhammad Riza Khan, whom they charged with being "guilty of great oppressions". His conduct in forcibly compelling "the owners to sell their rice to him" at a cheap price and reselling it at high rates was considered by them to have "operated in the destruction of many thousands of people". They were sore at this being "overlooked by those in power, who ought to have prevented him from acting in a manner so inhumane and so very unworthy of the station which he fills as *Naib Dewan* of the province of Bengal".⁵⁴ At the same time they demanded an immediate enquiry into the large unadjusted balances "said to be due from Mahomud Reza Cawn on account of the Dacca revenues".⁵⁵ In this background of the alleged corrupt and irregular conduct of the *Naib Diwan*, the Directors examined the state of their *Diwani* revenues, and, finding themselves "disappointed in that reasonable expectation" of "a considerable increase in the revenues", and experiencing "such a reverse as now appears by the great diminution of the revenues", concluded that it "must have been owing to the misconduct or malversation of those who have had the superintendency of the collections".⁵⁶ They further charged Muhammad Riza Khan of "actually" collecting "large sums. . . by violent and oppressive means, . . . great part of which he has appropriated to his own use or distributed amongst the creatures of his power and the instruments of his oppressions". The conclusion naturally followed that "the management of the *Diwanny* collections" could not be left "to him in future". A mere change of minister "could yield us little prospect of reaping any benefit".

⁵² Verelst's letter to John Cartier and the Gentlemen of the Council of Fort William. 16 December 1769; Harry Verelst, *A View of the Rise, Progress and Present State of the English Government in Bengal*, Appendix (No. XXVII) p. 122.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Public Letter from Court*, 28 August 1771, para. 18.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, para. 19.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, para. 20.

Hence they had recourse to "other means" for getting "the full advantage we have to expect from the grant of the *Dewanny*".⁵⁷

Thus followed the Directors' "determination to stand forth as *Duan*, and by the agency of the Company's servants to take upon ourselves the entire care and management of the revenues".⁵⁸ They demanded the discontinuance of the office of *Naib Diwan*, the removal of Muhammad Riza Khan, his agents and assistants from all offices in the revenue establishment, and the employment instead of the agency of the Company's servants. Secondly, they desired their servants to take up the entire care and management of the revenues. Thirdly, they asked for the issue of such regulations as would lead to an increase in the revenues and the elimination of all intermediary oppressive authorities between the ryots and the state. The changes of 1769 and 1770 and the experiment in the ceded districts had paved the way for the assumption of the direct management of the revenues by the Company's servants without the costly mediation of a *Naib Diwan* whose princely salary the Directors had long resented. The famine and the accusations flowing from it merely provided an occasion for the final consummation of the objective long in view. The direct assumption of the "care and management" of the revenues was no new development, as the appointment of the Resident at the Court and later of the Councils of Revenue, and the exercise of the supervisory powers by the Select Committee had long before tended towards that end. The Company had also been for some time contemplating how to secure an addition to its revenues by establishing direct contact with the cultivator. Nevertheless, the Directors' instructions for eliminating the intermediary authorities were so vaguely worded that it may be doubted whether it was their main object in "standing forth as *Diwan*", which decision marks the culmination of a process which had commenced in 1765.

Effect was given to these orders by the arrest of Muhammad Riza Khan and Shitab Roy and the abolition of the office of *Naib Dewan* in both the provinces. Riza Khan's functions had included the settlement of revenues and their collection, which the Governor and Council now took upon themselves, and for this purpose they appointed a Committee of Circuit with the President as its chairman and Middleton, Dacres, Lawrell and Graham as members to settle the lands by farming them on leases of a few years "by an actual visitation of the districts and local enquiry".⁵⁹ At the same time the centre of collection of revenue was moved from Murshidabad to Calcutta and the Governor and Council formed themselves into a Board of Revenue for the management of revenues. Besides ensuring "immediate inspection and controul" this last measure was expected to lead to the "opulence" of Calcutta "by drawing the principal families of the country to reside here by which the demand for imports from our mother country would be greatly increased".⁶⁰ The Committee of Circuit first visited the district of Nadia and made a settlement of the revenues by farming out lands by public auction for a term of five years on a progressively increasing rent from year to year. This system was adopted in other districts also.

The main purpose of this reorganisation was to centralise the administra-

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, para. 21.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Public Letter to Court*, 5 September 1772, para. 7.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, para. 15.

tion of revenue at Calcutta, where a Board of Revenue and the *Khalsa* Offices with the *Rai Rayan* and other dignitaries were established. The other object, that of securing an increase in revenue, with due regard to the welfare of the cultivator, was sought to be achieved by appraising the full value of land and determining the limits of collection by forming "an entire new *hustabood* or explanation of the diverse and complex articles which were to compose the collections".⁶¹ The Committee of Circuit examined the various duties and taxes which had so far been collected noting the proportion of the *asal jamma* (the original assessment) and the *abwabs* (cesses) which had been superimposed on it. They decided to abolish such of the latter "as appeared most oppressive to the inhabitants",⁶² the chief being the *rahdari* or duties levied on the transit of all goods and necessities of life passing through the interior of the country, the *bazi jama* or fines for petty crimes, and *haldari*, a tax upon marriage. To prevent the levy of such exactions the farmers were enjoined to grant *pattas* to the ryots, and new *amulnamas* or leases were formed in which the claims of the ryots were precisely and distinctly laid down and the farmers were prohibited from making any further demands on them. No further measures were taken at the time to protect the interests of the ryots, and even the little that was done was largely neutralised by the introduction of the system of auction in assessing land revenue. The method heretofore followed was that of settling the revenue for the year with the zamindars, taluqdars or even *aumils* at the annual *poonah* (*punyaha*) at which the *Naib Diwan* and the Resident at the Court presided. The Committee of Circuit, in their desire to know what the land could yield, resorted to the method of the highest bid for letting out the farm, irrespective of the long connection and customary claims of the zamindars. This resulted not only in an immediate but a progressive rise in the revenues, so soon after the ravages of the famine. It also brought in its wake a change of great magnitude in the socio-economic structure of the country. It is, however, futile to blame the Committee of Circuit for their inability to survey and measure the lands and determine an economic rent to be paid by the ryots. The "pyramidal" method was beyond their capacity; yet no fair critic can absolve them from the charge of encouraging rack-renting and oppression, which were the unfortunate consequences of the five-year settlement. An exaggerated importance has been generally attributed to the decision of the Directors "to stand forth as *Duan*". All that it implied, or all that followed from it, was the determination of the Directors to set aside the corrupt agency of Muhammad Riza Khan and make their own servants responsible for the assessment and collection of revenues so that an increasing yield might be possible. This was achieved. The other hope, however vague, of eliminating the middleman and establishing direct contact with the cultivator and determining the scientific rent failed to materialise. Thus nothing was done which could cheer the people of Bengal and give them hopes of deliverance from oppression in the new regime.

Investment and Trade

The other important branch of the East India Company's business was trade, which figures prominently in the letters of the Court of Directors and

⁶¹ *Public Letter to Court*, 3 November 1772, para. 16.

⁶² *Ibid.*, para. 17.

of Fort William. It consisted of exports of cotton piece-goods, silk and salt-petre from India, and imports of sundry English manufactures and metals, which were then finding a limited consumption and sale in the Indian market. The Directors were very keen about the export trade, which they called investment, and a large proportion of the correspondence is taken up by references to its supply and the means of its procurement. The supply of raw silk, a new method of reeling it and the efforts for sustaining their monopoly in this article of trade are some of the important aspects discussed in these letters. As regards the import trade, there is noticeable in these letters a desire to extend its area to the neighbouring states of Oudh, Nepal, Bhutan and Assam. The other subjects that are discussed in these papers are trade by the Company's servants in salt, betel-nut and tobacco on their private account, and trade by Indian merchants in the interior of the country or between Bengal and other provinces. The Company was eager to retain its monopoly and to eliminate corruption among its servants. Private trade could be suffered only in so far as it did not militate against the interests of the Company.

Various varieties of fine and coarse cloth, muslin and coloured goods were in demand in the European market and constituted the bulk of the exports from Bengal. Among others *baftaes*, *emmerties*, *laccowries*, *mammodies*, *gurrahs*, *cossaes*, *mulmuls*, *seerbetees*⁴³ were some of the varieties which were indented for. The value of this trade may be estimated from the directions of the Court of Directors that the Bengal investment for the year 1770-1 should not fall below rupees 70 lakhs. With the prospect of increasing revenues arising from the *Diwani*, the value of investment was enhanced as the Directors regarded that "the matter of investment is of the greatest importance to our interest, because on that alone depends our prosperity and existence".⁴⁴ This accounts for the minute supervision which they exercised over the supplies from India, and the keen attention which they demanded from their employees, not only to the provision of adequate quantities of goods but also to their quality, sortment and proper despatch. Frequent remonstrances on the remissness of their servants in India figure prominently in the Directors' correspondence.

A new development is in evidence during this period. Heretofore manufactured goods alone formed the bulk of the exports. But the demand for an adequate supply of raw silk, and the efforts which were made for introducing the new Italian mode of extracting silk from cocoons and reeling it, clearly indicate a vital change in the character of the Indo-British trade. The export of raw materials to feed British industry paved the way for the eventual destruction of Indian manufactures in the next century. Imitating the French, the Calcutta Council started a limited export of raw silk, which found a market in England where manufacture of silk cloth was then being taken up. Because Indian silk, though not inferior to Italian or Spanish silk, could not find a ready market owing to the crude method of reeling adopted by the *chassars* in Bengal, the Directors appointed a few Italian artisans and three supervisors to introduce their method of reeling in the various *aurangs* of Bengal. The appointment of Messers Wiss, Robinson and Aubert on liberal terms, the exhortations for affording them all facilities in their work, and the constant

⁴³ Bafta, Imarti, Lakhawri, Mahmudi, Garha, Khassa, Malmal, Sharbati.

⁴⁴ *Public Letter from Court*, 23 March 1770, para. 22.

references to the need for improving the quality of silk clearly indicate the growing interest of the Directors in this branch of their trade. They were not content only with the supply of large quantities of superior silk or *putney*, but also demanded the despatch of lower qualities and even waste or ferrit. To prevent the supplies to the East India Company being adversely affected they prohibited their servants or private traders from trading in silk in the *aurangs* or centres from which silk was provided. The needs of a larger supply prompted them to show interest in the welfare of the *chassars*, and for this purpose they directed the Calcutta Government to adjust the relations between the *chassars* and the *pykars* so that the former might not suffer from oppression. All these show how keen the Directors were to encourage this trade. There was at this stage no conscious attempt to injure Indian manufactures. The article was in demand in Europe, English manufacturers had taken to this industry, and consequently the Directors could expect better profits from the import of raw silk, properly reeled, from India. That it proved ultimately baneful to Indian interests and led to the complete destruction of silk manufacture in Bengal was the direct consequence of a measure, prompted by the profit motive of the Company, which ignored Indian interests.

The Governor and Council, while loyally executing the orders of their employers for a large supply of silk, sounded a note of warning against the exclusion of private traders from silk business. This protest was largely influenced by the class interest of the English private traders and the Company's servants. But they rightly pointed out that a strict adherence to the instructions of the Directors "would be ruinous to the country in effectually putting a stop to the silk trade, and thereby to the importation of silver which annually comes into these provinces for the provision of raw silk".⁶⁵ Their argument was that the entire produce would not be taken over by the Company, and hence for the effective culture of mulberry the surplus must be taken off by private trade. They pointed out that at every centre where silk was available and the Company's business was conducted, if the proposed exclusion were enforced, it would lead to the prevention of the 'country merchants from inland parts' from getting silk, and the industry would thereby languish. They desired, therefore, an alteration in the order sent per the *Mansfield*.

Another matter which engaged attention was the method of procurement. While in earlier times the East India Company had secured its investment by entering into free contracts with merchants for the supply of stipulated quantities of investment, in the mid-eighteenth century, and particularly after the appropriation of political power, it adopted the new method of engaging weavers or *chassars* to work on a system of advances and yield their entire produce to the Company. This necessitated the employment of a large host of *gumashtas*, *paikars* and *dalals* or agents at every factory or *aurang* in order to compel strict observance of the contracts by the weavers or *chassars*. This opened out not only the flood gates of corruption but also introduced a veritable reign of terror in the country. So long as the responsibility for government and collection of revenues was in hands other than those of the East India Company, the Directors and their servants could afford to be heedless of the growing wails of the people. But now the evil affected their own revenues.

⁶⁵ *Public letter to Court*, 12 February 1771, para. 30.

It also reacted adversely on the industry itself, and greatly curtailed the supply of their investment and its quality. The Directors woke up to the necessity of adopting remedial measures when they found "the once flourishing state of the commerce of Bengal" on the path of a "gradual decline". They wrote, "It gives us the greatest concern that so unhappy a change should have happened under our Government and at a time when our influence over the whole country was sufficiently established to enable our servants to remove every visible source of this unnatural decay". Therefore they proposed remedies "for restoring Bengal to its former vigour and to the full exercise and circulation of that commerce from which the Company as well as the kingdom itself had received such great and manifest advantages". Their panacea was "freedom in trade" which "is necessarily productive of its increase"; and for this purpose they ordered reversion "to your former practice of providing investments by contracts with *dadney* merchants" and by opening "your warehouses for ready money purchases" in case of the inadequacy of supplies by the *dadni* mode. This involved a clean sweep of "*gomashtas, delols and pykars*" not only of the Company but also of private traders and others, who were recognised to be a perpetual bar to the freedom of trade and who were guilty of "abuses, exactions and extortions". This reform was not only desirable but long overdue. The Directors, in this connection, suggested the reform of the Courts of Justice to prevent oppression "and to yield that universal relief which we are solicitous to obtain for every individual".⁶⁶

This salutary reform seems to have met with little favour from Cartier and his Council. In their letter of 10 January 1772, they indicated the measures which they had adopted to comply with the orders of their employers, but were sceptical as to their success in view of the "propensity and disposition of the natives", the possible effect on the price of the investments and the reluctance of the merchants to enter into contracts. In their postscript dated 27 March 1772, however, they sought the approbation of the Directors "for considering ourselves to be under the necessity of suspending the execution of them until it can be done in a manner more consistent with your immediate interest and the general good of the country".⁶⁷ In justification of their action they referred to the danger of the growth of monopolies, increase in prices and a fall in the supply of investments. They also pointed to the possibility of "immediate loss of the greatest part if not the whole of the balances due from the weavers".⁶⁸ As practical men they had no faith that the changed mode of procurement would succeed in "removing any evils that may be existing".⁶⁹ Private interest, the needs of the moment and fear of change, characteristics peculiar to bureaucracy stifled these salutary measures of reform. Warren Hastings, however, made regulations with the object of reducing the cost of silk investment, of making *chassars* "more independent of the *pykars*, their ancient oppressors", and ensuring a fair price for the commodity.⁷⁰

The imports brought by the Company's ships into India consisted of cannons and shells, gunpowder and other ammunitions, wines and stores of

⁶⁶ *Public Letter from Court*, 10 April 1771, paras. 17-22.

⁶⁷ *Public Letter to Court*, 9 March 1772,—Postscript 27 March 1772, para. 4.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, para. 3.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, para. 5.

⁷⁰ *Public Letter to Court*, 10 November 1772, para. 12.

various kinds for the use of their servants, carpeting and other articles of furniture, hats and shoes, medicines, steel, iron, copper, lead and cloth, particularly broad cloth, long ells and woollens like flannels. The quantities do not appear to have been large, and could not have counterbalanced the exports which were financed from the revenues or by means of drafts on the Directors. Sometimes the imports had so little demand that there were few purchasers in the Company's auction and even they sometimes refused to take delivery of the goods which had to be auctioned again. But the Directors were growing more and more keenly interested in this branch of their trade as is evidenced by their desire to open the neighbouring states of Nepal, Bhutan, Assam and Oudh for commerce in European commodities. They suggested the appointment of proper persons to reside at Rangpur to explore the interior parts of Bhutan and Assam. James Logan was despatched to Nepal and efforts were made to find a market for cloth and other European commodities in Tibet and western China. The Directors demanded the opening of trade relations with Oudh, as provided for under article 8 of the Treaty of 1765. But Nawab Shujaud-Daulah was reluctant to permit unrestricted trade, since it involved the export of specie from his kingdom, and there was also the danger of serious disputes arising between his people and the East India Company's *gumashtas*. But Cartier and his Council ignored these objections, and obliged the Nawab to throw open his country for trade.⁷¹ All this was done because of the Directors' "earnest desire to extend the vend of the staples of this kingdom to as great a degree as possible".⁷² This again introduced a change in the character of Indo-British trade. No longer is the East India Company content merely with the export of Indian manufactures for sale in Europe, but is anxious to supply raw materials to feed British industries and to find an easy market for the staple produce of that kingdom in India.

At the same time, in their instructions per *Lord Holland* dated 10 April 1771, the Directors desired their servants at Fort William to adopt certain measures for bringing about improvement in the commerce of Bengal, which struck at the private trade and iniquitous privileges of the Company's servants. They wrote, "From a conviction that the most effectual means to restore and invigorate the trade of Bengal will be the opening every proper channel for its extension and giving it that general freedom which is so necessary to encourage the industry and attract the attention of the natives, we can no longer permit our servants of any rank or station whatever to enjoy the exclusive privilege of *dustucks* . . . or any powers or favours which may be conferred and which can in any way yield an influence or superiority or favour of one more than another and this without the least distinction to nation or complexion".⁷³ All *chaukis*, excepting the nine general ones "established for collecting the duties payable to the *Circar*", were to be abolished as they acted as impediments to internal trade. The Directors further instructed that "no oppressions or impediments be laid" on the commerce of the "natives" up and down the river so that "the passage of their goods be facilitated by all possible despatch".⁷⁴ Orders were at the same time issued for throwing open trade in

⁷¹ *Public Letter to Court*, 9 March 1772, para. 30.

⁷² *Public Letter from Court*, 10 April 1771, para. 16.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, para. 25.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, para. 30.

salt, betelnut and tobacco which had remained a monopoly of the Company's servants. The withdrawal of special privileges, the discontinuance of the salt monopoly, and the prohibition of private trade in silk were measures necessary for abolishing private trade, which had been a crying evil of the Company's administration. Whether the motive was the purification of the Company's service, or the elimination of vexatious competition in their own trade, or the restoration of prosperity to the famine-scared and long oppressed population of Bengal, whose poverty was adversely affecting the Company's revenues, it is difficult to determine. Perhaps all these factors influenced the decision of the Directors.

The members of the Calcutta Council under Cartier did not submit with alacrity to the suppression of their privileges. They gave effect to the orders of the Directors, but when they found that the withdrawal of *dastaks* had reduced the gains of the members of the Council they suggested the revival of the monopoly in salt alone for their benefit. Yet their most "feeling" representations to the Directors did not bear fruit. Private trade by Company's servants did not cease. All that was achieved was to place the English trader on a footing of equality with the Indian merchant. It was only under the later Governors that the Company's service was purged of this corrupt tradition of private trade. At this stage only the iniquities from which the Indian merchant suffered were removed.

Government and Constitution

The Government of Bengal was still nominally held by the *Nawab Nazim* of Bengal. But "since the acquisition of the *Dewanny*", as Clive wrote, "the power formerly belonging to the *Soubah* of these provinces is totally in fact vested in the East India Company. Nothing remains to him, but the name and shadow of authority".⁷⁵ The Nawab had, in the words of Prof. D. N. Banerjee, "gradually become a mere stipend-enjoying figurehead, a 'pensioner of state', a rubber stamp for the use of the Company's agents in Bengal".⁷⁶ By the treaty with Najmud-Daulah, the government was carried on by Muhammad Riza Khan, the *Naib Subah*, who was also later appointed *Naib Diwan* by the Company. The allowance of the Nawab had been fixed at 36 lakhs of rupees which included the charges of maintaining the troops required for the collection of revenues etc. All the powers of the *Nizamat* were exercised by Muhammad Riza Khan, who was accountable to the East India Company. He was also the controller of the Nawab's household and supervised the disbursement of his allowance. Thus, by virtue of its control over the purse, and by exercising superintendence over the administration through its creature Muhammad Riza Khan, the Company had reduced the Nawab of Bengal to the position of a mere puppet, maintained as a mask to hide the real repository of power from the eyes of the European powers and the English nation.

There was a series of rapid successions to the *masnad* during these years. On the death of Najmud-Daulah, his brother Saifud-Daulah came to the *gaddi*. The latter died of smallpox on 10 March 1770, when his younger brother

⁷⁵ D. N. Banerjee, *Early Administrative system of the East India Company in Bengal* p. 84.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

Mubarakud-Daulah, a child of ten years was elevated to the Nawabship by the Governor and his Council. The Calcutta Government hoped that this arrangement would prove most consistent with the Company's interests as it was in accordance with the Directors' instructions and "a popular election in the eyes of the natives".⁷⁷ The same allowances were settled upon the child. A new treaty was also drawn up on the occasion, and the Emperor's formal investiture was also secured for him.

But the Directors had other views of their interest. They noted "with astonishment that an event of so much importance as the death of the Nabob Syful Dowlah and the establishment of a successor in so great a degree of non-age should not have been attended with those advantages to the Company which such a circumstance offered to your view".⁷⁸ They objected to the continuance of the same stipend as had been "allotted to his adult predecessors".⁷⁹ Hence they ordered its reduction to 16 lakhs of rupees during the minority of Mubarakud-Daulah to prevent its being "wasted on a herd of parasites and sycophants who will continually surround him, or at least to be hoarded up, a consequence still more pernicious to the Company".⁸⁰ This step was taken to relieve the Company to a certain extent of the heavy charges on the *Diwani* revenues. At the same time they discontinued the allowance paid to Muhammad Riza Khan as *Naib Diwan*, and ordered his appointment as the guardian of the young prince on a salary of five lakhs of rupees.

Before this change, the Government in Calcutta had been contemplating a plan to replace the guards of the Nawab by three battalions of Company's sepoys so as to increase the "establishment of sepoys for the service of revenue collections"⁸¹ without involving an additional strain on the Company's finances. But this plan had to be abandoned owing to the material reduction in the Nawab's stipend.

Later when Muhammad Riza Khan was dismissed, the Directors ordered the appointment of a new guardian in 1771. They wrote, "we are fully sensible of the expediency of supporting some ostensible Minister in the Company's interest at the Nabob's Court to transact the political affairs of the *Circar* and interpose between the Company and the subjects of any European power", and desired their Governor and Council to select "some person well-qualified for the affairs of Government and of whose attachment to the Company you shall be well assured" as "Minister of the Government and guardian of the Nabob's minority" on a salary of rupees three lakhs a year.⁸² In pursuance of these orders, Warren Hastings appointed Munni Begam, whom he deemed qualified by "her high rank and abilities . . . to represent the dignity of the family without any danger to the Company from such pretensions as might be apprehended from any male relation of Jaffier Aly Cawn or from the ambition of any other man of consideration to whom such a trust might be delegated".⁸³

⁷⁷ *Select Committee Letter to Court*, 18 March 1770, para. 15. The Directors had, in their letter of 16 March 1768, fixed the line of succession in the family of Mir Jafar, and had also determined the amount of the allowance.

⁷⁸ *Public Letter from Court*, 10 April 1771, para. 36.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, para. 37.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, para. 38.

⁸¹ *Public Letter to Court*, 9 March 1772, para. 51.

⁸² *Public Letter from Court*, 28 August 1771, paras. 24-5.

⁸³ *Public Letter to Court*, 5 September 1772, para. 14.

During all these days there was a definite attempt to dissociate Nand Kumar from any close contact with the Nawab. The transactions in these three years further emphasised the insignificance of the Nawab in the political structure of Bengal. By the end of 1772, effective measures had been to collect all the threads of administration, revenue, judicial and police, in the hands of the Company's servants, and fully safeguard the Company's position as the supreme authority in Bengal.

The Company's governmental machinery long continued to bear strong traces of its commercial character. This was natural as long as the primary concern of the President and Council was to provide investment, and the Councillors were primarily chiefs of factories whose merit was assessed by their success at the counter. Nevertheless, with the growing volume of political business and the responsibilities arising from the assumption of the *Diwani*, fresh agencies were evolved to cope with the new type of business. The Directors were fully conscious of the change and strove to readjust their machinery to suit the novel situation. They appointed special Commissioners in 1769 to overhaul their administrative system in India. But the Commissioners were unfortunately shipwrecked on their way to India. The trend of the instructions given to them was, however, communicated to the Fort William Government and certain important changes were effected in the constitution of the Presidency during the years 1770 and 1772.

We need not here describe the administrative machinery and the changes made therein before 1770, which have been so minutely described by Prof. D. N. Banerjee in his book *Early Administrative System of the East India Company in Bengal*. Suffice it to say, that every Presidency was governed by a President or Governor with a Council who was directly accountable to the Court of Directors in England, the supreme authority of the East India Company. Every Presidency was independent of the other. The Directors had contemplated the institution of a limited central authority in India for political and military purposes in their instructions to the Commissioners, but this reform did not materialise before the passing of the Regulating Act of 1773. The Governor may be regarded as *primus inter pares* in relation to his Council. He had, however, gradually acquired a position of pre-eminence owing to his having the special privilege of correspondence with the country powers, to his being vested with the supreme military authority, to his being invested with extraordinary powers in times of emergency and to the influence he wielded in filling vacancies in the Council and the Select Committee from among the civil servants. He was the first man of the European community in the Presidency. The prestige of the Governor had greatly enhanced since the time of Lord Clive, who enjoined the Council "to make the power of the President appear as extensive as possible in the eyes of the people".⁸⁴ Nonetheless, the change found no recognition in the constitution except in so far as the Court of Directors had mentioned in 1769 "that our Governor is to all intents and purposes the Commander in Chief of our force and whatever orders he sends to any officer must be obeyed",⁸⁵ and had further laid down in their letter of 23 March 1770 that "the Governor singly shall correspond with the country

⁸⁴ D. N. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

⁸⁵ *Fort William—India House Correspondence*, -Vol. V, p. 218.

powers".⁸⁶ His emoluments and the prestige attaching to the office also made him important.

The Council was the main authority for transacting all business which had not been specifically transferred to the Select Committee. Its strength varied from time to time from nine to sixteen members. It consisted of the President and eleven other members when the orders of the Directors, dated 23 March 1770, were received for its reorganisation. They fixed the number at nine besides the Governor and the Commander in Chief who was now to have a seat in the Council. Generally the vacancies in the Council were filled by the President and Council from among the senior servants of the Company, for which definite rules had been prescribed by the employers. Sometimes senior servants from other Presidencies were also selected. Some of the members were appointed as chiefs of the factories and consequently lived away from the seat of Government. Such a position was no longer convenient owing to the change in the character of the administration which called for the Councillors' constant presence at the capital and their undivided attention to the functions of supervision and control. The Directors, therefore, required, "That none of the Council be permitted to act as Chiefs of any of the subordinate factories, but shall all constantly reside at Calcutta, the Resident at the Durbar, if that office shall be filled by a Counsellor, and the Military Commander excepted. That no member of the Council shall have any employ annexed to that station, but that all offices be executed by the senior servants not members of the Board".⁸⁷ The reduction in the number of Councillors was effected, though not without remonstrance from some junior members who had been displaced.

The Directors also ordered "that the said Council be formed into proper committees so that the controul, superintendency and direction of the Company's affairs at the Presidency and subordinates may be faithfully and impartially transacted to their greatest benefit and advantage".⁸⁸ In the first instance, the Directors had ordered that these committees should consist of four members each, but by their letter of 18 December 1771, they raised the number to five and laid down as a rule "that no orders be conveyed to any of the persons under the direction of each committee respectively until such orders shall have been first approved in committee by three or more of the said members of Council, appointed to form such committee".⁸⁹ Five such Controlling Committees were formed for Treasury, Revenue, Commerce, Accounts and Military. Regular days were fixed for their meetings. The formation of these Controlling Committees did not affect the existence of "the Committee for Defence in case of attacks", provision for which had existed since 1758 and which comprised the Governor, Commander in Chief and Chief Engineer.

The most important of the Committees was, however, the Select Committee which had intermittently existed since 1756. Generally it included the Governor and four other members of the Council, and sometimes the Commander of the forces was also its member. In 1770 its composition was fixed by the Directors as three senior members of the Council, the Commander in Chief and the

⁸⁶ *Public Letter from Court*, 23 March 1770, para. 180.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, para. 179.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ *Public Letter from Court*, 18 December 1771, para. 23.

Governor. Its powers were also defined. It was competent "to make regulations respecting peace and war, and negotiate with the country powers but not finally to conclude any treaty, until the terms and conditions of such treaty shall have been first approved by our Governor and Council".⁹⁰ All letters sent by the Governor to the country powers as well as those received by him were to be laid before the Select Committee "for their information and consideration"⁹¹ or approbation. But prior to such delimitation of its functions, the Select Committee had been exercising more extensive powers. Its jurisdiction comprehended the conduct of "everything that relates to the Country Government, either with respect to the *Duannee* or the Company's political interests with the neighbouring powers, together with the military operations depending thereon". It embraced negotiations "with the *Soubah* and the country powers", and superintendence of "the collection of the revenues arising from the *Duannee*".⁹² Hence, on the subject of the enforcement of the Directors' instructions of 1770, the Select Committee came into conflict with the Council, as both of them claimed supervisory powers over the machinery of revenue administration, and both based their claim on the orders of the Court of Directors. The matter was referred to the Court by both the agencies, whose proceedings were replete with recriminations exposing fully the existence of an ugly state of disharmony and division in the Company's service in Bengal.

The Directors took a serious view of the conflict which "occasioned an extraordinary waste of time".⁹³ They ordered immediate execution of their instructions according to the judgement of the President and Council, and confined the Select Committee to the functions "which are particularly specified in our letter dated 23rd March 1770".⁹⁴ In a subsequent despatch they entirely disapproved the opposition given by "our Select Committee to a measure which was positively ordered"⁹⁵ by them, and expressed their "displeasure"⁹⁶ by removing Becher from the Council and Kelsall and Floyer from the service. Thus terminated an unhappy incident which clearly exhibited the demoralisation of the governing agency in Bengal and its proneness to corruption and irresponsibility.

The reorganisation of the administrative machinery in 1771, the enlargement of the Council so as to have fourteen members, and the setting up of Controlling Committees not only strengthened the government but also contributed to efficiency and expedition in the discharge of business. It was an early attempt at transforming a commercial concern into a political organisation.

The Government of Fort William was subordinate to the Court of Directors and in every manner accountable to it for its actions. It derived its powers from the Court, whose instructions and orders were implemented by it. Nothing trivial or insignificant relating to commerce or administration of Bengal escaped the attention of the supreme authority in England, which issued peremptory orders and positive instructions for implementation by its servants

⁹⁰ *Public Letter from Court*, 23 March 1770, para. 180.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² D. N. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

⁹³ *Public Letter from Court*, 10 April 1771, para. 155.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, para. 156.

⁹⁵ *Public Letter from Court*, 25 April 1771, para. 1.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, para. 2.

in Bengal. At the same time, the Directors desired detailed information on every matter and insisted on the transmission of the proceedings of the Council and of various committees, as well as copies of all papers relevant to the administration and trade of their possessions. Any neglect in this matter was visited with strong strictures and poignant remonstrances. The failure of the Fort William Government to send copies of earlier books and records met with a severe rebuke in 1771. Obedience to their orders and subservience to their authority were frequently enforced by the Directors by means of penalties which extended even to the dismissal of the Governor and members of the Council, or to recovery of damages from the members. Their displeasure was often expressed in strong sentiments when any servant or member of the Council was found remiss in his duties. But if penalties were sometimes imposed by the Directors, at other times the actions of the employees earned their approbation and encomiums and brought rewards in promotion and preferment. But, on the whole, they were hyper-critical of their employees and believed in holding the reins tight. They did not like any criticism of their orders by their servants, who did not hesitate to make strong representations when the Directors' instructions affected their emoluments, for instance in respect of private trade. The Directors had frequent occasions to admonish them about their negligence in providing investment or its proper despatch, and did not hesitate to remonstrate with the Council for accepting extravagantly high contracts for the supply of war material or in respect of constructions. They did not fail to express their disapprobation when the Council failed to pay the Navy Donation or repeatedly neglected their orders that no bills should be drawn on them. Such frequent denunciations by the Directors of the actions of the Bengal Council provide apt illustrations of the former's desire to exercise effectively their controlling authority. Nevertheless, except in matters relating to revenue, finance or trade, considerable discretion was allowed to the authorities in India.

Services : Civil and Military

The East India Company's services, on the civil side, were organised on a commercial basis, and neither by the nature of recruitment nor by training were suited for the business of administering a vast territory. Ordinarily every servant started as a writer, being recruited in England by the Directors at the tender age of sixteen, and sent to India on an indenture or covenant initially for a term of five years. The letters of the Court of Directors give long lists of new writers assigned to Fort William and sent by the ships of the season. After serving five years as a writer, a servant could gradually rise to the successive positions of a factor, a junior merchant, a senior merchant, a Councillor and even a Governor, if he showed capacity and was favoured by patronage. Ordinarily, seniority was the basis of promotion. The covenant had to be renewed with every promotion and an increasing security was demanded from the servant proportionate to his rank in service. The salaries were low, a writer starting service on £5 a year, and these were fixed on the supposition that a servant would enhance his emoluments by resorting to private trade which was permitted.

No change appears to have been made in the general organisation of these services after the assumption of political power in Bengal. But in the altered

circumstances it was unlikely that the services would remain unaffected by the vices associated with uncontrolled and irresponsible authority. Corruption became universal. Abuse of authority grew into an epidemic. Greed and profit motive got the better of the sense of loyalty, service and fairplay. When fortunes could easily be made, scruples vanished. Indiscipline, licentiousness and extravagance became common. Not only did this tendency affect the well-being of the people, but it also reacted on the revenues and the commercial profits of the East India Company. The Directors grew alarmed and made frequent attempts after 1762 to tighten control and thereby purge the services of dishonesty, speculation, extortion and corruption. The text of the covenant was revised three times between 1756 and 1772, so as to embody conditions of service suitable to the needs of the time. The covenant of 1756 incorporated clauses enjoining the servant to keep the Company's secrets, to obey orders of the Court of Directors, to do nothing prejudicial or damaging to the Company's interests, to give intelligence of all "deceits, wrongs, abuses, breach of orders, inconveniences and hindrances"⁷⁷ which he might have reason to suspect, not to overcharge the Company for the goods bought, not to accept gifts in respect of any commercial transaction, and to redeem his debts owing to the Indian merchants. To prevent extortion of money and other valuables from Indians by resorting to violence or other abuse of power, the Company was empowered by the terms of the covenant to enquire into allegations of crime and to make the guilty servant pay back the amount by way of reparation to the injured party. This covenant was revised in 1764 so as to make it unlawful for any servant, without the Company's sanction, to "accept, take or receive" or even agree to accept "any gift or grant of lands, or rents or revenues issuing out of lands, or any territorial possession, jurisdiction, dominion, power or authority whatsoever", from any Indian Prince, his minister, etc., "for any service or services," or even to accept "any gift, reward, gratuity, allowance, donation or compensation in money, effects, jewels or otherwise howsoever", exceeding the value of Rs. 4,000.⁷⁸ All such gifts had to be made over to the Company. It was a timely and salutary restraint rendered necessary by the ugly developments at the time in Bengal.

The growing evil was sought to be repressed by a further revision of the covenant in 1772. The new covenant incorporated all the clauses of the two earlier documents and included besides a provision for restraining the Company's servants "from assisting foreign companies or supplying country powers with warlike stores"⁷⁹ such as muskets, artillery, etc. The penalty for acting contrary to the covenant was dismissal from service and removal to Europe. A clause was also added for preventing the continuance of any servant, merchant, etc., in Bengal beyond a year after his resignation or dismissal from service, and the Governor was given adequate powers to enforce the rule. This was in accordance with an Act of Parliament, 9 Geo. I, C. XXXI, information of which was communicated to Fort William by the Directors in their letter of March 1770. While authorising action and justifying the measures adopted against Bolts, the Directors had written, "This power ought to be very tenderly exercised in all cases, and only for the sake of public good, where the privileges

⁷⁷ D. N. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 329.

⁷⁹ *Public Letter from Court*, 10 April 1771, para. 85.

and commerce of the Company are invaded by such offenders, their regulations violated and their European or Indian enemies abetted and supported".¹⁰⁰ The new covenant was to be signed by every member of the service, civil and military, including "all surgeons and free mariners",¹⁰¹ defaulters being punishable with dismissal and transportation. They were, moreover, required to name two persons in England who would stand surety and enter into security bonds for a sum fixed according to the rank of each covenantor, which varied from £10,000 for the Governor to £500 for a writer.

It has been mentioned earlier that promotions were made generally by the rule of seniority. But for appointment to the Council from among the senior servants, the Directors were anxious that no one should be promoted unless the Governor and Council were "fully satisfied that his 'abilities, integrity, circumstances and good character in general' rendered him fit for so important a station".¹⁰² Hence they desired, in 1765, regular reports about their servants from the Governor and Council. A failure on their part brought the just admonition of the Court in 1770. At that time they re-emphasised the orders of 1765 in respect of filling vacancies in the Council. For other appointments, however, even in 1770, seniority in service constituted the main claim. The Directors desired this principle to be given every reasonable encouragement unless disability or dishonesty in a senior servant justified his supersession. In 1771, however, in the matter of filling chiefships of factories, etc., while adhering to the principle of seniority "in all cases where the same can be observed without prejudice to the interests of the Company", the Directors made it clear that it was not their intention "that seniority alone should entitle them to enjoy such posts as require not only an undoubted integrity but also a competent degree of ability and attention".¹⁰³ Seniority and merit were thus the criteria of promotion in the services of the East India Company.

As has been mentioned earlier, the salaries paid by the East India Company to its servants were scandalously low and meagre. But they were expected to supplement their income by private trade, which brought ample returns and made the Company's service extremely lucrative. Political power directly contributed to the enhancement of such profits. New avenues of gain were opened to them which brought opulence to the servants of the Company, and the large remittances to England in money and diamonds bear testimony to it. However, the Company withdrew the privilege of private trade from its senior servants and forbade them to indulge in inland trade, but, as a compensation, allowed them a commission on the *Diwani* revenues in order "to give them a reasonable encouragement to exert themselves with zeal and alacrity in their several Departments."¹⁰⁴ In their General Letter to Fort William, dated 20 November 1767, the Directors issued instructions for reserving for this purpose a sum equivalent to 2½ per cent of the net *Diwani* revenues and defined the mode of its distribution among the various grades of the superior service. The commission was to be paid to the Governor, members of the Council, Commander in Chief, colonels, lieutenant colonels and majors of

¹⁰⁰ *Public Letter from Court*, 23 March 1770, para. 90.

¹⁰¹ *Public Letter from Court*, 10 April 1771, para. 86.

¹⁰² D. N. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

¹⁰³ *Public Letter from Court*, 28 August 1771, para. 28.

¹⁰⁴ *Public Letter from Court*, 20 November 1767, para. 105.

the army. Some junior military officers also were granted a gratuity or donation out of it. But the chiefs of factories were not given any share. The Governor was allotted a major share in view of his having relinquished all shares whatsoever in private trade and also all presents and gratifications. The amount which he thus received was about two lakhs of rupees a year, which was in addition to the salary of £3,000 per annum, besides his share of the mint duty and consulage. The total income of the Governor was in the neighbourhood of three lakhs of rupees a year. The next man who acquired a large share was Major General Sir Eyre Coote who was granted 1/18 of the total amount of commission. The shares of the other servants were also in addition to their salaries and diet money.

The distribution of the commission money in 1767 had left a balance of about $1\frac{1}{3}$ lakhs, which the Directors ordered to be credited as unappropriated fund, from which they intended to benefit their servants in Bombay. In 1769, the Fort William Government allowed it to be distributed among the chiefs of the factories of Patna, Kasimbazar and Dacca, and the surgeons of the army, which was wholly unauthorised. That brought forth a well-deserved rebuke in 1770, and the members of the Council were ordered to reimburse the Company to the extent of the sum so spent. By the same letter the Directors ordered a redistribution of the commission money. Out of the $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent commission on *Diwan* revenues, 1/18th was to be paid to Sir Eyre Coote; the balance was to be divided into 100 shares, which were to be distributed in the following manner:—

Governor	31	shares.
Second of Council	$4\frac{1}{2}$	"
Sir Robert Barker	$5\frac{1}{2}$	"
Seven Members of Council	2	" each
Colonels	5	shares to be divided amongst them equally.
Lieutenant Colonels	$8\frac{1}{2}$	shares to be divided equally amongst them.
Majors	$5\frac{1}{4}$	" " "

The unappropriated balance was to be available for distribution to the members of the Bombay service.

The Directors were not happy over the deterioration in the morale of their servants and issued stringent regulations to ensure discipline and to prevent their lapsing into corrupt practices. The Company's servants were prohibited in 1766 from lending money to zamindars and others at exorbitant rates of interest, a practice which had caused obvious difficulties in the collection of revenues. And in 1772, the Calcutta Government forbade collectors of revenue to lend money to zamindars, etc. The Directors were also solicitous of the interests of the poor and exhibited virtuous rage when they heard of the charges against their servants during the famine, "especially natives of England, for monopolizing grain, and thereby aggravating the woes, and, no doubt, increasing the numbers of wretched mortals".¹⁰⁵ They ordered an impartial enquiry and directed immediate dismissal of any servant who was found guilty,

¹⁰⁵ *Public Letter from Court*, 28 August 1771, para. 9.

"as a warning to all persons not to contribute towards oppressing the poor, which we are determined never to permit whilst in our power to prevent it"¹⁰⁶ At the same time they were keen on checking extravagance in the subordinate factories where "large sums have been expended for the gratification of private vanity under a pretence of supporting the rank the Company holds in the Empire of Indostan".¹⁰⁷ They prohibited holding of parades and such other demonstrations of dignity by chiefs of factories. A stringent control was exercised on the *Bakhshi's* accounts. The Calcutta Government was also not immune from extravagance, and a severe remonstrance was administered to it when plates, pictures, etc., were purchased for the Governor's use.

Individual "extravagance and dissipation" was also condemned. Many junior servants lived beyond their means compelling them to contract loans and be indebted to their banians. In 1767, the Governor was asked "to have the expenses of the young servants reduced within moderate bounds", and appropriate regulations were made prohibiting writers from keeping palanquins, or horses, or country houses, or more than one servant. Their intemperance and extravagance in dress were also to be checked by fixing a standard "relative to rank and fortune".¹⁰⁸ Disobedience was to be punished by suspension from service. The evil does not seem to have disappeared and the Directors were constrained to issue instructions on 25 March 1772 to the effect that if any junior servant on account of his "extravagance and dissipation"¹⁰⁹ contracted debts the payment of which he evaded by escaping from the jurisdiction of the Mayor's Court, he was to be forthwith dismissed from service and sent to Europe. But these salutary restrictions do not appear to have exercised any healthy control over the servants, for the evil had not disappeared at the time of Warren Hastings.

Cases of corruption, embezzlement of Government money, taking contracts, and extravagant expenditure in constructions of fortifications and buildings were so frequent as to call for particular mention by the Court of Directors and occasional punishment of the offenders. They wrote, "We . . . see with concern to what attacks the Company's property is exposed from the insatiable thirst of gain which some would not scruple to gratify".¹¹⁰ This evil seems to have been particularly prevalent among the military officers. An interesting instance is that of contracts for draught bullocks. Another remarkable example is the criminal waste in the construction of the barracks at Berhampore. The audacity with which the Company's servants defrauded the Government is clearly exhibited in the case of Forbes who submitted "fraudulent" accounts regarding the constructions at Berhampore. In his defence he affirmed "that he is thoroughly convinced his transactions will bear the test of any comparison you may choose to make with the accounts of any gentleman who holds an office of this nature under the Company, and desires the reasonableness of his charges may be determined by some such standard".¹¹¹ Brazen-faced he sought justification in the prevalence of it among his peers. The trial of Cap-

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, para. 12.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, para. 30.

¹⁰⁸ D. N. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, pp. 350-1.

¹⁰⁹ *Public Letter from Court*, 25 March 1772, para. 115.

¹¹⁰ *Public Letter from Court*, 23 March 1770, para. 76.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, para. 64.

rain Mackenzie and similar other cases during the administration of Cartier are some of the glaring instances of demoralisation and corruption among the East India Company's servants, both civil and military.

A remarkable instance of the private interest of the Company's servants overriding the public interest, and of the disregard of the wishes and positive orders of the Court of Directors by the Governments of Fort William and other Presidencies, is provided by the indiscriminate drawing of bills on the Company in England in the year 1770 for the purpose of transmitting the surplus money acquired by the civil and military servants. The increasing sources of gratification opened up by the new political power brought vast sums into the hands of the servants who wanted to send them home. It was Lord Clive's hope that the inordinate gains soon after the acquisition of the *Diwani* would not be a normal feature. But it appears that large sums were seeking remittance every year for which the Company's bills as well as French bills were equally in demand. The Directors had realised the gravity of the problem, and were afraid of the financial difficulties to which the Company's affairs would be exposed, if the Bills drawn upon them from India exceeded a certain amount. They had issued orders from time to time limiting the sums for which their servants were authorised to draw upon them. The limit fixed in 1768 and 1769, which was quite liberal, was exceeded in 1770-1 by the Fort William Government presumably on the following grounds: firstly, to provide a fund for emergencies; secondly, to prevent the French and Dutch Companies from finding money for providing their investment and thus competing with British trade; and thirdly, to meet the growing expenditure on civil and military establishment at the time. The result of their action was that in 1772 the East India Company was faced with a serious financial crisis. The Directors took a strong view of the conduct of their servants and expressed their resentment at the "license you have taken in deviating from our express and positive orders".¹¹² In their letter of 23 September 1772 they renewed their "peremptory injunctions", not to issue bills beyond the limit of £100,000. Again, on 24 November 1772, the Court of Directors remonstrated with the Calcutta Government against the "unwarrantable conduct" of drawing for one million sterling which had led to the inordinate "want of cash"¹¹³ and prohibited them from drawing any bills in 1773. The matter was so serious that it occasioned an enquiry by the Parliamentary Committee of Secrecy in 1773 which failed to support the pleas put forward by the Governor and Council of Fort William, who seem to have been influenced more by the interests of the Company's servants than the resulting distress of their employers. The account of bills of exchange and sets of certificates sent by almost every ship of the season reveals the extent of the drain of wealth from Bengal in the shape of remittances by the Company's servants, and brings to light the magnitude of private gain which fell to the share of the Company's servants. Large sums were also deposited by them in the Company's Treasury in Bengal in interest notes pending the issue of bills of exchange.

The standard of discipline, too, was not high. There were occasional representations by civil servants against the orders of the Court of Directors, and sometimes the Council itself used strong terms in taking exception to the

¹¹² *Public Letter from Court*, 23 September 1772, para. 5.

¹¹³ *Public Letter from Court*, 24 November 1772, para. 12.

instructions sent from England. An apt instance is that of a remonstrance and representation of grievance made in 1771 against the inadequacy of allowances paid to the senior servants below the rank of Councillors. The main argument was that the meagreness of the emoluments exposed them to temptations "which their situations must naturally offer".¹¹⁴ The military officers were always prompt in making representations when they felt that their just claims for promotion had been ignored. The General Letters of the Council of Fort William abound in references of this nature. It was even customary for some officers to repair to England for the purpose of making personal representation to their employers in the hope of better success there. The Calcutta Government took objection to this mode and wrote to the Directors that all such "remonstrances should always be made in writing and transmitted through the regular channel of our public advices".¹¹⁵ The Directors also expressed their disapproval of this practice and issued definite instructions on the subject in their letters of 10 April 1771 and 25 March 1772. They enjoined that if any officer returned to Europe without waiting for their orders on his written representation submitted through the Governor and Council, he would be deemed to have been dismissed. It was necessary to adopt these stringent measures to check the growing evil of officers going on leave and returning, which caused endless difficulties and often led to an increase in the superior establishments.

It appears from the correspondence that there was a tendency at this time in the military services to disparage and defy the civil authority whom the Directors had invested with controlling and supervisory powers. An important case of this nature was the trial of Captain David Mackenzie who was found "guilty of disobedience to an order sent him by the Chief Mr. Alexander".¹¹⁶ He was arrested and sent for trial by a court martial. The court was represented by the Governor and Council to have been infused with the "spirit of reducing the authority of the civil power over the military".¹¹⁷ Party spirit governed the decision and the Government was led to censure the conduct of the court. This, however, was an extreme case.

The Directors also grudged the increase in the civil and military establishments which had largely added to the Company's expenditure in India. They desired retrenchment, and in their letters of 1772 suggested various economies. The military expenses had gone up considerably, particularly owing to the increase in the number of field officers and the various allowances which they earned. A reduction in their number and strict adherence to the limits imposed were enjoined by the Directors. They compared the expenses in Bengal with those of Fort St. George and desired a decrease in the forces as well. The Committee of Secrecy also made a thorough examination of the subject. It was, however, impossible to effect any economy owing to the responsibilities of defence which devolved on the Bengal Establishment.

The Judicial System

The right conferred by the grant of the *Diwani* included, besides the function of collecting revenues, the administration of justice. As in revenue the

¹¹⁴ *Public Letter to Court*, 2 April 1771, para. 5.

¹¹⁵ *Public Letter to Court*, 31 March 1772, postscript, para. 3.

¹¹⁶ *Public Letter to Court*, 10 January 1772, postscript, para. 1.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

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East India Company was content to leave the administration of justice in the hands of the existing Indian authorities and made no change in the judicial system immediately after the grant of the *Diwani*. The first effective alterations were, however, made in 1772, subsequent to the Directors' decision to "stand forth as *Duan*". The plan for the administration of justice, as laid down by the Committee of Circuit and approved by the Council of Fort William, was communicated to the Court of Directors along with the letter of 3 November 1772. The Seventh Report of the Committee of Secrecy of the Parliament of the year 1772-3 reviewed the position as it then prevailed, to which reference may be made for a fuller information on the subject. Prof. D. N. Banerjee has also described the system very comprehensively in his book already referred to.

The judicial machinery, at the time of these changes, may be classified into (1) the indigenous Mughal system which had survived the shocks of anarchy, and (2) the East India Company's courts in Calcutta which derived their authority from the charters issued in England and which were modelled on the English system. The modifications of 1772 affected only the former, and the Company's servants or the European residents of the Presidency still remained subject to the jurisdiction of their separate courts. The Regulating Act of 1773 introduced certain changes in the latter as well.

In Bengal, according to the Parliamentary Committee Report, there were four kinds of courts "for the exercise of criminal, civil, religious and revenue jurisdiction". In the districts, the criminal and civil courts were presided over by the raja or zamindar who profited by the fines imposed and shared in the recoveries made in civil suits. There was no definite and "regular system of law" except the injunctions of the Quran. "The necessary consequence of so imperfect a system of law", the Committee concluded, "rendered the exercise of criminal and civil judicature in Bengal, in a great measure discretionary". Their view was that people were reluctant to resort to these tribunals, which fact was responsible for the prevalence of the practice of referring disputes to arbitration. There were also appellate courts at the capital; but the witnesses before the Committee were of the view that the Government "not only exercised a discretionary power over the proceedings of the courts, but frequently gave such remedy or inflicted such punishment, as they thought proper, without the interposition of any judicature". Process of law was costly, and owing to the absence of subordinate courts in the districts, poor people were excluded from "the possibility of obtaining justice by law". Influential people were seldom subject to the authority of the courts. For religious cases there were separate courts for the Muslims and the Hindus, in which the law was administered by the *Qazi* and the *Mufti* or the Brahman. Similarly, cases concerning land rents or revenue were "under the cognizance of a peculiar court in every district" which was subject to the zamindar and later to the *Naib Diwan*. Such courts, in the chaotic conditions of the time when despotism was the one principle of government, had degenerated into mere "instruments of power rather than of justice" and were "often the means of the most grievous oppression under the cloak of the judicial character".

The successive revolutions in Bengal, which aimed at the establishment of British political influence, also very grievously affected the courts of justice. The last of these in 1764 "rendered the administration of justice in the judi-

cature of the country very liable to be swayed or influenced by any servant of the Company, whose situation gave him an opportunity, and whose interest afforded him incitement, to interfere in any of their judicial proceedings". It was stated that even the "banyans of English gentlemen entirely govern the courts of judicature, and that they even frequently sit as judges in these courts". The oppressive conduct of the *gumashtas* and their open defiance of all judicial procedure alarmed the Court of Directors, who, in their letter of 10 April 1771, recommended the application of effectual means to prevent these agents "from exercising abuses, exactions and extortions", and suggested "due execution of justice in the several courts . . . to afford the oppressed natives all such relief as may encourage them to pursue with alacrity their several occupations and by convincing them of the benefits of our influence excite them to recompence by their industry, the attention of their benefactors".¹¹⁸ This called for a reform and reorganisation of the judicial system which was given effect to by the changes introduced in 1772.

The East India Company could not long remain oblivious of the intimate connection between prosperity and an effective judicial system. In the interest of their revenue and trade, therefore, the Directors sought improvement in the indigenous machinery soon after the grant of the *Diwani*. The Commissioners were enjoined, in 1769, "to correct without delay, all such abuses" in the judicial system as might tend "to the oppression of the natives", and to "use the most effectual means for rendering their properties less precarious, and their possessions more permanent".¹¹⁹ The Fort William Government was also not inactive and, without wholly altering the system, brought the entire machinery directly under the supervision of the Company's servants—Supervisors in the districts and the Resident at the Durbar in the capital. The proceedings of the courts were submitted to them before the execution of the sentences. Justice being an attribute of sovereignty, an insidious attempt was being made to subordinate it to the Company's Government, without an open avowal of the change.

The tendency of reform had been in the direction of establishing lower courts in the districts, of abolishing the power of the judges to impose arbitrary fines, of encouraging the more frequent use of arbitration in suits relating to property, of scrutinising the competence of Hindu and Muslim judges to dispense justice, of maintaining proper record of the cases decided and sentences passed, and finally of bringing the judicial machinery more and more under the direct control and supervision of the East India Company's Government. In all these measures the motive of securing easy and inexpensive justice to the people and protecting them against oppression is clearly visible. The new plan adopted by the Committee of Circuit in 1772 might thus be regarded as the culmination of that process which had commenced soon after the grant of the *Diwani*, for it brought the judicial machinery wholly and directly under the control and superintendence of the President and Council at Fort William. It provided for the establishment of two courts in every district, the *Diwani Adalat* for the trial of civil cases such as those relating to property, inheritance, marriage, caste, debts, contracts, rents, etc. ; and the *Foujdari Adalat* for taking

¹¹⁸ *Public Letter from Court*, 10 April 1771, para. 21.

¹¹⁹ Instructions to the Commissioners, 15 September 1769. *Fort William—India House Correspondence*, vol. V, pp. 241-2.

cognisance of all criminal cases such as murders, robbery, theft, felony, forgery, frauds, assaults, frays, quarrels, adultery, etc., and all breaches of peace or violent invasion of property. Corresponding superior courts known as *Sadar Diwani Adalat* and *Sadar Nizamat Adalat* were to be established in Calcutta with appellate jurisdiction. In the capacity of the *Diwan*, the Company's Government had direct authority over the *Diwani* courts so that the collector presided over the district court and the *Sadar Diwani Adalat* had the President and Council as judges. The nominal authority of the *Nazim* over the criminal courts was retained by having the chief officer of the *Sadar Nizamat Adalat*, the *Daroga-i-Adalat*, appointed by him. In the districts, justice was administered and law expounded by the *Qazis* and the *Muftis* assisted by *Maulavis*. But in respect of these courts also the power of control was vested in the President and Council at the centre, and in the Collector in the districts.

The regulations of 1772 also reveal the intention of the Government to make justice more easily accessible, cheaper and less arbitrary: emphasis was laid on the mode of settling disputes by arbitration in suits relating to debt, contract, etc., but with the proviso that the creditors must not exercise "judicial authority over their debtors" and were to be directed "to prefer their suits to the established court of *audawlut*".¹²⁰ It was also laid down that in all cases relating to inheritance, marriage, caste and other religious usages, the suits were to be decided according to the respective laws of the Hindus and the Muslims for expounding which Brahmans and *Moulavis* were to be called to the court.¹²¹ The Fort William Government claimed, by these measures, to have "endeavoured to establish on the most equitable, solid and permanent footing" a system of judicial administration. They also wrote, "We have endeavored to adopt our regulations to the manners and understanding of the people, and exigencies of the country, adhering, as closely as we are able, to their antient usages and institutions".¹²² The form of the existing system was, of course, adhered to, but it was to be shorn of its abuses. The Committee of Circuit, in their letter of 15 August 1772, clearly expressed the basis of the plan by stating, "We have confined ourselves with a scrupulous exactness to the constitutional forms of judicature already established in this province, which are not only such as we think in themselves best calculated for expediting the course of justice, but such as are best adapted to the understandings of the people. Where we shall appear to have deviated in any respect from the known forms, our intention has been to recur to the original principles, and to give them that efficacy, of which they were deprived by venal and arbitrary innovations, by partial immunities, granted as a relief against the general and allowed abuse of authority, or by some radical defect in the constitution of the courts in being; and these changes we have adopted with the less hesitation, as they are all of such a nature as we are morally certain will prove both of general satisfaction and general ease to the people".¹²³ The existing structure was retained by making it simpler and more effective as a means of administering justice. Yet a major change was made in so far as the courts now formed an intrinsic part of the British system of government, and administra-

¹²⁰ D. N. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 484.

¹²¹ For a detailed account reference may be made to Appendix 2 in the *Seventh Report of the Committee of Secrecy*, 1773.

¹²² *Public Letter to Court*, 3 November 1772, para. 40.

¹²³ D. N. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 488.

tion of justice came to be wholly controlled by the Company's European servants. The Company's sovereignty was now complete.

In Calcutta there existed two kinds of courts, one having jurisdiction over the Indian residents and the other over the European inhabitants. In the capacity of the Zamindar, the East India Company established courts at the Presidency town similar to those in the districts in Bengal, and they were presided over by the Company's servants, the President and Council retaining the right of revision. It seems that in criminal cases involving capital punishment the sentence was executed by the Company as Zamindar without reference to the *Nazim*, contrary to the usage of Bengal. When the system was revised in 1772, Calcutta and the 24 Parganas formed one jurisdiction and the *Diwani* and *Nizamat Adalats* with English presiding officers were established on the pattern of the courts in the districts". The members of the Council were to exercise control by rotation.

The jurisdiction of the Zamindari courts being limited, and ineffective over the European part of the residents, the East India Company sought a charter from the Crown to be able to institute an adequate machinery of justice. The revised charter of 1753 governed the constitution of such courts at Fort William. It provided for the establishment of a Mayor's Court with a Mayor and nine Aldermen to "determine all civil suits, actions and pleas between party and party"¹²⁴ as also to try cases in which the Company was a party. Appeals from the decisions of the Mayor's Court were to lie with the President and Council, who were formed into a Court of Record. Appeals from their decisions could be made to the King in Council, if the amount exceeded 1,000 pagodas. There was also to be a Court of Request for the recovery of small debts, the procedure of which was a summary one. For criminal justice, the charter ordained the Governor and Council to be Justices of the Peace and have power to act as such, and to hold quarter sessions of the peace, and also to be Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer, and General Gaol Delivery, for trying all offences (high treason only excepted), committed within Calcutta and the subordinate factories. These courts made provision for justice, both civil and criminal, for the European part of the population. The Indian subjects were excluded from the operations of the Mayor's Court, unless they chose to place their disputes before it. The writs of these courts could not apply to any place outside the Presidency town and its subordinate factories.

The Parliamentary Committee of 1772 was not satisfied with either the efficiency or the independence of these courts. The fact that the judges were appointed by the Government and could be dismissed by the Governor and Council, made them "exercise their judicial functions at the pleasure" of the Government, which affected the independence of their judgment in cases in which either the Company or its principal servants were involved. Moreover, the judges did not know English law which they were supposed to apply, a circumstance which marred their efficiency as instruments of justice. The Committee also felt that the restrictions on their jurisdiction made these courts inoperative in respect of a large number of Europeans who resided in the interior of Bengal outside the Presidency or its subordinate factories, which contributed to their lawlessness and iniquitous conduct.

¹²⁴ D. N. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 545.

In the correspondence reproduced in this volume, there is reference to three cases which reflect upon the integrity of the judicial authorities at Fort William and which called for the interposition of the Directors or brought deserving censure from them. The first case was that of the dismissal of Bolts from the office of Alderman and his deportation to England, presumably owing to his being odious to the Fort William authorities. His appeal to the King in Council against the decision of the local authorities was allowed and he was permitted to return to Bengal and resume his office. There is also mention of Cator's dismissal from the office of Alderman by the Mayor's Court, an appeal against which was preferred to the King in Council. More serious, however, were two other cases, the dismissal of Whittall from his position as an attorney, and the wrongful confinement and detention of Jephson and his wife. Both these matters brought well-deserved rebuke on the local authorities and exposed the partisan character of the Mayor's Court. The judgment in Whittall's case being referred to their counsels by the Directors, it was found that the Mayor's Court had passed its orders "without specifying any particulars of the bad conduct Mr. Whittall was guilty of". Thereupon the Court of Directors wrote, "such general charges of misbehaviour without facts are very gross and unbecoming a court of justice, and have more the appearance of private resentment than public good, especially from a court whose orders may be reversed by appeal".¹²⁵ The Governor and Council were ordered to have a retrial. But Jephson's case was the occasion of severe strictures on the President in Council owing to his refusal to entertain an appeal, "against the interlocutory orders or sentences of the Mayor's Court".¹²⁶ The Directors characterised the treatment of Jephson and his wife as oppressive and unjust. Their indignation found expression in the following words: "It is with much concern and indignation we observe our courts of justice prostituted to such purpose as must carry with them not only an indelible reproach to the courts themselves but to that Government by which they were instituted".¹²⁷ They ordered that an appeal should be filed against the judgment of the Mayor's Court. In Whittall's case, the behaviour of the Mayor himself was the subject of enquiry, but the Governor in Council absolved him of any inadvertence on the basis of evidence tendered before them. These cases exhibit most prominently the defects in the judicial system and led to the wholesome changes introduced by the Regulating Act.

The Company's Government had also been empowered to institute courts martial for the trial of offences committed by the officers of the army. A very important case was the trial of Captain Mackenzie for his misconduct and extortionate behaviour in Rungpur while he was the Commander of the *pargana* sepoy's there. As an off-shoot of this case was the charge levelled by Grant against Lawrell and Purling, members of the Council, which led to a conflict between Major Morgan, the judge of the court martial, and the civil authority. Such courts martial were frequent at the time. The Government at Calcutta was even prepared to extend their jurisdiction to the offences committed by civilians, Indian or European, living within the limits of the cantonments, owing to the absence of any other adequate judicial machinery. But this was

¹²⁵ *Public Letter from Court*, 3 May 1771, para. 7.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, para. 12.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, para. 14.

no longer necessary after the reorganisation of the judicial system in 1772. The Directors reviewed the decisions of the courts martial and demanded full record of their proceedings, presumably because they had little confidence in the judicial integrity of their servants. The subordination of the military to the civil authority was a cardinal principle of the Company's Government.

Fortifications, Buildings, etc.

The finances of the East India Company were severely strained by the extravagant expenditure on the construction of the cantonments in Dinapore and Berhampore and the New Fort at Calcutta, besides some fortifications on the river and at Budge Budge. The building of the factory in Chittagong and the addition of apartments at Motijhil in Murshidabad for the assistants of the Council of Revenue, together with the purchase of a house for a hospital in Calcutta at an exorbitant cost, were other heavy items of expenditure on buildings. These charges "have been so great a drain upon your treasury", wrote the Directors, "as to contribute to effects severely felt by us, especially in the mode of providing our investments".¹²⁵ Inadequate supervision coupled with the chicanery of the English contractors, some of whom were also servants of the Company, occasioned excessive increase on the estimated cost. The case of the Berhampore cantonment is an apt illustration. The original estimate of three lakhs of rupees was exceeded four times and yet the construction was not completed even though no barracks were erected for the sepoys. The Directors charged the Chief of Kasimbazar with neglect for failing to prevent "the long continuance at least of almost all those frauds which have taken place, and thereby that enormous excess of expence which has been incurred".¹²⁹ Even the Governor and Council were not considered "altogether blameless" as they had allowed the abuses to continue long before ordering effective enquiry.¹³⁰ Similar was the case with Chittagong, Dinapore and Fort William constructions. The Directors were constrained to order the immediate cessation of all new constructions, and imposed a limit of £100,000 for expenditure in one year for completion of the buildings in hand.

There is also mention of the construction of new docks on the Hooghly by Major Watson, who had taken contract for the completion of Dinapore and Berhampore cantonments.

The correspondence of these years is replete with references to the repeated expressions of displeasure of the Directors at the utter neglect and absolute lack of supervision by the Governor and Council. Private interest, favouritism and collusion were responsible for the criminal waste of the revenues of Bengal. It is therefore not surprising that the Directors poured forth their ire on the Fort William Government.

Coinage

In the Fort William despatches is narrated an attempt to reform the coinage of Bengal. Uncertainty about the value of the coins in circulation,

¹²⁸ *Public Letter from Court*, 25 March 1772, para. 41.

¹²⁹ *Public Letter from Court*, 23 March 1770, para. 61.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, para. 62.

and the difference in the standard and weight of silver in the rupees coined at the various mints of Bengal, occasioned great inconvenience to trade and led to exploitation by money-changers, who charged *batta* or discount. The coins of previous years were also accepted at a discount owing to their depreciation and were thus lower in value than the current ones. To remedy this defect, the Directors had suggested reform of the coinage. The President and Council issued certain regulations in 1771, which were communicated to the Directors in the letter of 30 August 1771. The most important change was "That the *11 sun siccas* should not fall in their value but should pass on the same footing as *siccas* of the present and every future year throughout all the provinces, and that whenever new *siccas* of any future year should be issued they should not reduce the *siccas* of the former years as far back as the *11 suns* to the state of *sonnauts*, but they should all be considered and pass in payment at the same value as the *siccas* of the current year".¹³¹ The *sicca* rupee was thus made the "established standard coin of the country by which the value of others would be always determined, and consequently by depriving this standard of its annual fluctuations, the most essential part of the plan would be carried into execution".¹³² Uniformity of coinage and invariability of value were to be secured by these measures. The coins issued earlier than 1770 were liable to discount or *batta* owing to their becoming *sonnaut*, but subsequent coinage was to be exempt from this handicap. The new coins were issued in September 1771, but by an unfortunate mistake in the mintage of the Patna coins, there was a difference in value between them and those coined at Murshidabad, which defect was remedied later. These regulations mark a real advance and resulted in the expansion of trade and facility in the collection of revenue. The peasantry was also saved from the great loss and inconvenience which it had previously suffered owing to the deduction of discount at every payment of revenue.

Bengal and other Presidencies

Of the five settlements of the East India Company in the east, Fort William alone had adequate resources in money or military power to extend help to the other Presidencies. The Directors utilised this situation and directed the Government there to divert part of its *Diwani* revenues to China and the other Presidencies in India. There were occasional demands for cash from Canton, Bencoolen or Bombay which it was difficult for the Fort William authorities to meet always. Moreover, goods in demand there were also to be supplied from Bengal. Very frequently the Directors specified the goods which had to be sent to China. When the proposal for taking possession of the island of Balambangan was mooted, the Fort William Council was ordered to provide cargo consisting of "ferret goods, *humums*, *cossaes maulda*, *baftas*, *rommals*, *tuffetus*, blue cloth, *chuppa rommals*" as well as opium, which must be sent. These goods were supplied and additional consignments of opium were also provided. Similarly saltpetre and silk were sent to Bombay and rice to Madras. China had a market for opium which was exported from Bengal.

¹³¹ *Public Letter to Court*, 30 August 1771, para. 28.

¹³² *Ibid.*, para. 29.

But more frequent were requisitions for the supply of cash to China or Bombay, which the Calcutta Government was unable to meet owing to an unprecedented shortage of silver. It was, however, practicable to meet the demand from Bombay by procuring bills for the amount required. In 1770, a sum of twelve lakhs of rupees was sent there in cash or in bills. Next year again nine lakhs were remitted there, but when Bombay demanded fourteen lakhs more only seven lakhs in bills were sent. The Council was opposed to remittance of cash lest it should lead to the diminution of money in circulation in Bengal. Even Madras felt the need of money for supply to China, and Bengal gave eight lakhs of rupees in 1770. The demand from China and Fort Marlborough was continuous and had to be met from Bengal occasionally, though not without considerable inconvenience and difficulty. It has been calculated that between 1761 and 1771, Bengal remitted to other settlements a net amount of £2,358,298. About £100,000, a year was the regular remittance to China, and £160,000, a year on the average to Bombay. It was this help which was referred to when the Governor and Council at Fort William wrote to the Directors on 9 March 1772, "It has always been our aim to afford all the assistance in our power to your other settlements considering them equally with our own as conducive to your interests".¹³³ It was the surplus of the Bengal commission money which made possible the payment of commissions to Bombay servants and a sum of 1½ lakhs was sent there every year.

Apart from the monetary assistance, the Fort William Government rendered aid to Fort St. George when the latter was involved in a conflict with the ruler of Mysore. Moreover, when in 1772 there was an apprehension of Maratha invasion and danger of shortage of grain and money in Madras, the Calcutta Council assured the Madras Government of their assistance. Reinforcements of troops from England were sometimes diverted from one Presidency to another. Mutual aid and common effort to secure the Company's possessions and position marked the relations of the three Presidencies in India. The resources of Bengal were used by the Directors for building up their commerce in the eastern lands and for the foundations of their influence and empire there.

Drain of wealth and the condition of the people

An important immediate effect of the grant of *Diwani* was the excessive drain of wealth from Bengal. Ever since the revolution of 1757 enormous gains had been made by the English servants of the East India Company, which they remitted to England by various modes. But while private advantage had increased there had been no systematic and continued exploitation by the Company in the earlier years. With the vast potentialities opened by the grant of the *Diwani*, this was now possible, and during the period that followed there was an increasing drain of wealth from the country leading to untold suffering, impoverishment and almost a revolution in the economic life of the country.

Its first symptom was the unprecedented diminution of specie, particularly silver. Besides the payment of tribute to the Emperor and the expenditure

¹³³ *Public Letter to Court*, 9 March 1772, para. 22.

on the military establishment at Allahabad which caused remittance of silver to the Upper Provinces, which did not normally return through the medium of commercial transactions, the silver stock of the province of Bengal was depleted by supplies to China, Bombay, Bencoolen and the cash carried in chests by the Company's ships. The Directors were keen that Bengal should meet the requirements of the China trade; and despite their own difficulties, the Governor and Council of Fort William had to keep Canton supplied with specie. From a statement in the Third Report from the Committee of Secrecy of 1772 we find that out of the sum of £2,859,678, remitted to the other settlements in ten years, between 1761 and 1771, £1,591,696, was in bullion alone besides bills worth £926,768. In the last two years while the remittance of bullion decreased the amount remitted by bills showed a considerable increase. Between 1765 and 1771 the remittance of bullion came to £1,284,007, and bills and goods to £763,457; whereas remittances before 1765 were comparatively small, those after the grant of the *Diwani* had increased considerably. No silver was sent to England.

While on the one hand continuous depletion occurred owing to these remittances, on the other the stream of supplies which was flowing earlier into the country from Europe had now ceased because it was no longer necessary for the English Company to bring money for the purchase of its investment from Bengal. The territorial revenues were used for this purpose, and in ten years (1761-71) the total of goods supplied at prime cost came to £5,291,368. Between 1765 and 1771, the cargoes supplied to Europe were valued at £3,942,119, which may be regarded as Bengal's tribute to the East India Company. The Company's investment was thus provided out of Bengal revenues and the province got no fresh stocks of bullion from England. It was expected that other European companies would continue to import silver for making their purchases. The Directors and the Calcutta Government both made earnest efforts to compel them to bring in fresh stocks of specie. But their needs were met by the English servants and merchants who were only too willing to give the foreign companies their hoards of silver in exchange of bills to be realised in England. Enormous private incomes, legitimately or illegitimately derived, were seeking remittance to England, which made it unnecessary for any silver to be imported into Bengal for the purchase of goods. The result was that no more silver was received and the Bengal finances were almost on the verge of a breakdown.

The Bengal Council had been conscious of the impending crisis since 1765. The position grew extremely critical in 1768 owing to "the alarming prospect of a scarcity of silver".¹³⁴ and the subject figured prominently in the correspondence of that year. With the passage of time the situation grew worse. In 1770, the Council reported "general distress of the merchants arising from the great scarcity of silver specie that prevailed".¹³⁵ They were unable to meet the demand from Canton or Bombay owing to the "general scarcity of silver or specie"¹³⁶ in Bengal. During these years the province had a very small margin of bullion. The evil was aggravated by restrictions on trade as a consequence of the monopoly of the East India Company in silk,

¹³⁴ D. N. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

¹³⁵ *Public Letter to Court*, 25 January 1770, para. 51.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, para. 39.

which prevented a flow of specie from other parts of the country. The Calcutta Council while protesting against the orders of the Directors relating to the trade in silk gave a cogent analysis of the decline in prosperity. They wrote in April 1771, "It must be first considered that this country solely depends on its fertility and manufactures for its riches . . . and that the exchange of the manufactures for specie during a long succession of ages is the true source of its reputed opulence. Any regulation which must decrease the imports of bullion does in effect strike at its prosperity . . . It must be confessed the Honorable Companies' provision of an investment gives a subsistence to many thousands of people ; but as their investment is provided by the money which arises from their revenue it cannot be considered as adding in the least to the opulence of the country and the drain which has been open for some years past requires to be stopped from the distress the country at present suffers through a want of that specie which has been carried out of it".¹³⁷ Decrease in trade with Agra, Gujarat, Malabar and other parts of India, provision of the Company's investment out of the *Diwani* revenues, and the meeting of the needs of the French and other European companies out of the accumulated wealth of the English merchants and servants of the Company, all contributed to the impoverishment of Bengal. But even in that low ebb of its prosperity the drain of wealth did not stop.

This situation reacted on trade, industry and general prosperity of the people. The East India Company's monopoly deprived the merchants of their principal source of profit. The mode of providing investment, and oppression consequent on the employment of an army of *gumashtas* killed initiative and damped enterprise which affected industry. The Directors were not ignorant of "the present declining state of the country".¹³⁸ They knew how "the weavers and manufacturers" had "long groaned under the oppression of such petty tyrants" as the *gumashtas* and agents of the Company, and suggested measures to improve their lot.¹³⁹ The woeful tale of suffering of the people under the cruel oppressions by the Company's Indian and English servants is narrated in the contemporary records, letters of Becher and the Supervisors and in the writings of Verelst, Bolts and many other Englishmen. The cultivators groaned under heavy exactions of revenue which showed a continuous tendency to rise. Indiscriminate resort to farming, even to the extent of putting lands to auction, resulted in rack-renting, and soon led to the miserable poverty of the peasants and the ruin of the prosperity of the zemindars. Nor could the Nawab of Bengal retain any vestige of their earlier affluence. Successive extortions by the Company's servants had depleted the Murshidabad treasury. The new administration had led to the opening of the flood-gates of corruption, bribery and peculation. It is no wonder that people suffered. The famine of 1770 was both a consequence as well as a symptom of the poverty and misery of the people, occasioned by the unwise and shortsighted policy of exploitation pursued by the Company's Government.

Conclusion

Cartier left Bengal after his dismissal in 1772 and Warren Hastings assumed the reins of administration. The three years covered by the correspondence

¹³⁷ *Public Letter to Court*, 2 April 1771, para. 11.

¹³⁸ *Public Letter from Court*, 10 April 1771, para. 17.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, para. 21.

in this volume were mostly the period of Cartier's rule. Judging from the famine and the economic decline of the country, it may be presumed that his administration was not conducive to the happiness of the people. It is true that the state of affairs was quite bad when he took over. But he was not gifted by genius and character to rise above the circumstances and could not suppress the corrupting influences which surrounded him. He was incompetent to stamp out corruption. He lent himself to factions and thereby aggravated division, dissension and indiscipline. He grew to be a champion of the private interest of the Company's servants. It is no wonder that he suffered rebuke and closed his career with the ignominy of dismissal.

Yet credit must be given to Cartier and his Council for steering the ship of state through two serious crises, the domestic one of famine in Bengal, and the external one of the growing menace of Maratha supremacy in northern India and the consequent danger to the English security in Bengal. He exhibited a rare political insight and by adopting a policy of forbearance and sticking to the alliance with Oudh saved the East India Company from trouble. More remarkable, however, is his analysis of the political situation of India and the corresponding policy for the Company's Government. In his time were explicitly visible the traces of an imperialist policy. Cartier was not the man to exploit the situation. His sole claim to recognition is that he paved the way for Warren Hastings, who directed his energy to the reorganisation of the revenue and judicial administration and established the rule of the East India Company on a solid foundation.

These years mark a transformation in the spirit and outlook of the East India Company. The commercial profit motive yields place to a sense of political responsibility, and the trading Company slowly changes itself into a political power, establishing its empire over India. These years are years of transition which have left their deep stamp on subsequent developments.

LETTERS FROM COURT

PUBLIC LETTER DATED 17 JANUARY 1770

*Shipping news—appointment of Coote as Commander in Chief:
his conditions of service, status and duties.*

OUR President and Council at Fort William in Bengal.

1. Under the 7th of last month we wrote to you by the ships *Europa* and *Valentine*. Triplicate thereof goes a number in the *Vansittart's* packet.

2. By the *Vansittart*, *Egmont* and *Verelst* now under dispatch, you will receive this letter, purposing to write more fully by the latter ships, that we may have sufficient time to make our remarks upon your advices received this season now under our consideration, as well as those received by the *Shrewsbury*, which arrived in the Downes the 13th December; and we have the pleasure to advise you that the *Talbot* arrived in the Downes the [. .] instant.

3. As the ships bound this season to the Coast and Bay¹ cannot take in all the tonnage intended for your Presidency we have been obliged to load a considerable part thereof on those consigned to Fort St. George, and we have directed that Presidency to forward the same to you by the first safe conveyances with the invoices and bills of lading.

4. We have paid Captain Purvis one hundred guineas for the passage of Mr. Bolts, who you sent home on the *Valentine*, upon the Captain's representing that he was put to an extraordinary expence on Mr. Bolts's account, and had not received any consideration from him for the same.

5. Although we hope that you will not be disabled by an insufficiency of tonnage to return to us all the ships consigned to you this season, nevertheless if you shall find it indispensably necessary under that circumstance or from any unforeseen events to detain any one of them in the country until the following season, we direct that the *Europa* be the ship to be fixed on for that purpose, and in the meantime employed in the most advantageous manner for our service.

6. Captain Purvis of the *Valentine* having lately brought from India a large quantity of Madeira wine for sale, thereby frustrating the intentions of furnishing our settlements therewith at a reasonable rate, we have resolved to restrain so prejudicial a practice, and direct that you inform the captains, they are not to bring home more of that article than shall be sufficient for their own use in the homeward voyage, or that you may licence to be shipped as presents, and also to acquaint them respectively that we shall not fail particularly to resent any disobedience of this order.

7. In assistance of the tonnage to be returned from all our Presidencies by the ships going out this season, we direct that 2,500 tons of saltpetre be provided at your Presidency for that purpose, and you are to concert with the Presidencies of Fort St. George and Bombay as to the quantities they may

want for loading home the ships to be returned from those settlements accordingly.

8. In our letter of the 10th November we acquainted you of our having appointed Major General Coote to be Commander in Chief of the Company's forces agreeable to the enclosed copy of our commission.

9. Although Major General Coote may, by virtue of our commission, command the troops at any of our Presidencies, yet as his services are more immediately wanted at Fort St. George, he is to proceed to that Presidency. But if the Carnatick should be in a state of peace and tranquillity, and either he, the Commissioners,^a or in their absence the Governor and Council, should judge it necessary for the good of the service that he should proceed to either of the other Presidencies, the Commissioners, or in their absence the Governor and Council are to determine on the expediency of such a measure ; but they must first take Major General Coote's opinion on the same with his reasons at large. And this general rule is to operate in like manner during his stay at any of the Presidencies when his proceeding from thence to another shall be requested by himself or the Governor and Council thereof, with this exception that a requisition of his presence at any of the Company's settlements made by the said Commissioners must at all times be complied with so soon as may be. And as it is our intention to avail ourselves of his military abilities in that part of India where he may be most wanted, it must be observed as an invariable rule that he do not depart from the Presidency where he is resident without the permission of the Commissioners or in their absence of the Governor and Council.

10. Fully convinced of Major General Coote's abilities and knowledge of military matters we order and direct that he be called in by the Commissioners appointed to superintend the Company's affairs in the East Indies, whenever he shall be present where they may happen to reside, in order to assist them with his advice and opinion in all their deliberations on military and political affairs. He is accordingly to have a seat and voice with them as Commander in Chief of our forces next below Colonel Forde^a ; but in case from his appointment there should at any time happen an equality of voices, it is then our positive order that the first named Commissioner present at such deliberations shall have the determining voice in the decision of such questions as shall relate to military and political matters. It is our further order that at any of the settlements where Major General Coote shall be resident he have a seat and voice in the General Council as well as that for the Military Department, also in the Select and all other committees, next to our President in like manner as General Lawrence had. You are nevertheless to observe it is not our intention that he ever shall be Governor of Bengal or any other of our Presidencies as every vacancy of Governor is to be supplied by the senior civil servant in Council according to the custom of the Company, unless we have given or shall hereafter give any orders to the contrary.

11. In consideration of the rank Major General Coote holds by His Majesty's commission, and in order to place him on the footing of allowances superior to the present commanding officers in India without incurring a more considerable charge than by the appointments which were assigned to General Lawrence, it is our order that General Coote be allowed a salary of £1,500 a year to be paid him out of our cash at Fort St. George or such other Presidency

at which he shall reside by quarterly or half yearly payments to commence upon his arrival, and that one-eighteenth part of the $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent commission on the net territorial revenues in Bengal is to be deducted out of the full commission and remitted to the General wherever he shall reside, and the

remainder thereof is to be distributed according to our directions in the General Letter to you of the 20th November⁴ 1767, also that he be further allowed one-twenty-fourth part of the

commission of five per cent taken on the farmed revenues of Fort St. George and its subordinates to be deducted in like manner from the said commission, and the remainder thereof to be distributed according to the directions in our General Letter to Fort St. George dated the 25th March 1768.

12. We further direct that Major General Coote's travelling charges in going from one Presidency to another be borne by the Company, and that whenever it may be necessary for him to take the field he is in such case to be allowed in addition to his beforementioned appointments the sum of ten pounds sterling a day for the expences of his table and field equipage, and that on days of marching (and not otherwise) he be sup[p]lied by the Commissary with thirty coolies to assist in carrying his baggage.

13. He is to be provided with a house or apartments suitable to his rank and station at such Presidency where he shall reside.

14. You are to observe that the beforementioned salary and allowances are to be in full consideration for Major General Coote's service as Commander in Chief, also for assisting at the Board of Commissioners, and as a member of Council and of the Select and all other committees, and which allowances are not to be exceeded on any pretence whatsoever.

15. That you may be properly acquainted with the abilities and characters of such military officers as may in future be appointed or promoted at your Presidency whenever Major General Coote shall happen to be there, you are hereby ordered and directed previous to such appointments or promotions to take his opinion and advice on the merits and abilities of such officers. However, this is not intended to lessen your authority in the promotion of officers, but that you may be more fully informed of their respective merits and services.

16. We do not intend by the appointment of Major General Coote to be Commander in Chief of our forces to lessen the allowance to Brigadier General Smith⁵ otherwise than by the proportion which Mr. Coote is to enjoy in the $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent commission allowed on the revenues, and therefore we direct that the present pay of General Smith with the proportion of the commission on the revenues settled by our letter of 20th November 1767 are to be continued to him.

17. However, the continuance of these appointments and seat and voice at the Council board to Brigadier General Smith must not hereafter be drawn into precedent, it being our express order that no future first in command on your establishment shall bear a commission superior to that of colonel or receive a larger proportion of pay and of the emolument from the revenues than are allowed by the beforementioned letter of 20th November 1767 during General Coote's stay in India,

18. The returns of the Company's forces in all India are to be regularly made to Major General Coote as Commander in Chief at such periods as he shall point out, and as the forming and regulating our forces at the different Presidencies on one regular and uniform plan of discipline has been strongly recommended by him as a point of the utmost importance, such orders as shall be established for that purpose under his hand and communicated to you by the Commissioners for our affairs in the East Indies or by the Governor and Council of the settlement where General Coote shall reside are accordingly to be put in execution.

19. At the particular instance of Major General Coote, we have allowed Mr. John Grant to embark with him as his Secretary, and being well satisfied of Mr. Grant's merits and abilities from his former behaviour in our service, we have permitted him to proceed to and remain in India while the General does, and given him a brevet as Major in the East Indies; and he is to enjoy the allowances annexed to that station, but he is not to be appointed to any corps in the Company's troops as it is not our design that he should supersede any of the officers of that rank by this appointment.

20. We have been informed that Mr. Albert Jones who has been an officer in His Majesty's service is gone to India in His Majesty's frigate *Aurora* with an intent of being employed in our service; but as Mr. Jones has not our permission for proceeding thither, we direct that he be not employed by you in any station whatever in our service, either in a civil or military capacity.

21. We have drawn upon you one sett of bills of exchange for two thousand rupees or pounds sterling two hundred at 2s[h] the current rupee and thirty days sight payable to James Alexander Esqr. received of Mr. George Richard Foley dated the 5th January, 1770.

We are,
Your loving friends

G. Colebrooke / Pere. Cust / Hy. Crabb
Boulton / John Harrison / William
Snell / J. Purling / Fredk. Pigou / Jn.
Woodhouse / John Motteux / Chas.
Boddam / George Cuming / W. G. Free-
man / Peter Du Cane Junr. / Wm.
James / J. Roberts / Ben. Booth / Rd.
Bosanquet.

London,
January 17th, 1770.
(*Per Verelst*,
the 3d July 1770.)

PUBLIC LETTER DATED 31 JANUARY 1770

Shipping news—recruitment of Italian silk reeling experts—Peacock and Christie permitted to go to Bengal to develop trade relations with Morung.

OUR President and Council at Fort William in Bengal.

1. By the *Vansittart* we wrote under date of the 17th instant, duplicate thereof is sent by the *Egmont*, also triplicate of our letter of 7th December.

2. By the *Talbot* and *Shrewsbury* lately arrived from your Presidency we received the undermentioned advices *vizt.*

<i>General Letter dated</i>	2d March 1769	per <i>Talbot</i>
<i>General Letter from the Select Committee</i>	4th do	do
<i>General Letter</i>	28th do	
do.	from the Select Committee	6th April do
<i>Letter from President Verelst</i>	5th do	per <i>Shrewsbury</i>

3. The *Bute* Captain Patrick Maitland, consigned to Fort St. George and China, had the misfortune in her passage to the Downes to ground on a sand called the Spaniard where she remained several days, but has been happily got off, and received but little damage; yet as she was obliged to be considerably lightened and must be docked, it will retard her departure, but not so much as that we hope she will be able to save her passage to China the season of her arrival in India.

4. We have very maturely deliberated on the most proper measures for the improvement of the culture and extension of the raw silk investment at your Presidency, and have taken the opinion of most of the considerable traders and manufacturers in that article. It appears that the staple of the Bengal silk is in quality equal to and would answer all the purposes of the Italian or Spanish sorts if reeled in the same manner so as to render it easier to wind and to work with less waste, and that with such advantages it would sell at a much higher price than at present, particularly the first letter of the Commercolly silk,¹ of which twenty or thirty bales are more than in its present state can be manufactured in a year; but if it would wind and rid as fast as the Piedmont and Italian sorts, 500 bales would not be too much for this market and fetch from twenty-five to thirty per cent more than it sells for at present, and the lower letters proportionally; even those of D and E might be so perfectly manufactured for answering the uses of the Spanish and Calabria silk as to increase twenty per cent on the present price and no quantity be too large for sale here.

5. And having received full assurances that the instructions and assistance of some able and experienced artists on the spot [would be available] in raising and improving the produce of the worms, and in spinning and drawing the silk from the cocoons in the perfect manner in which the same is done in Italy and other parts of Europe, and by such means the present imperfec-

tions which depreciate and lessen the sale of the Bengal silk can only be removed, and the improvement in quality and very large extension of the sale thereof effected, greatly to the benefit of the public in general and the Company's particular advantage, and having received very satisfactory testimonials of the qualifications of Messrs. James Wiss, Pickering Robinson and William Aubert as persons in all respects able to rectify the disadvantages and bring the investment of this most important article to perfection, we have entertained them as Superintendants for that purpose on the following terms, *vizt.* to be each allowed a salary of £400 per annum for five years certain (in case they shall so long live and continue in the Company's employ) to commence from their arrival in India in consideration of their devoting their whole time and attention to the service of the Company in the improvement of the raw silk investment and obliging themselves not to engage during their continuance in the Company's service in any trade in the East Indies on their own private account. They are to be each allowed £20 per calendar month from the time of their arrival in Bengal for subsistence and [*sic*] instead of diet money, also to be at all times provided with convenient and suitable apartments. We have also agreed to allow each of them £100 for their passage out, and that the charges of their return to England after the expiration of the said five years and all their reasonable expences in proceeding from place to place in India are to be defrayed by the Company.

6. Mr. James Wiss has engaged the four persons undermentioned as drawers or spinners of raw silk on the following terms—

James Ruggiero	..	Entertained 24th November last.
Dominicus Poggis	..	..... do
Charles Francis Bricola	.....	.. do
Augustin Della Casa	..	..... 10th December.

7. That each of the said four persons are to be allowed £40 sterling per annum from the day of their being entertained, exclusive of their travelling charges; also to be paid the expence of their passage from India at the end of five years, should they not choose to remain any longer in India, and also their house rent is to be paid by the Company.

8. You are to deduct from the wages of each twenty Genoese *livres* or fifteen shillings sterling monthly for the maintenance of their families which we are to remit to Genoa for that purpose.

9. Several tools and materials have been provided here for the use of the filatures under the direction of the Superintendants upon the Company's account, for the particulars whereof you are referred to the invoice of the ships by which the same will be sent.

10. You are also to deduct out of Mr. Wiss's salary forty pounds a year for the maintenance of his wife and family, which is to be paid here.

11. Enclosed you will receive copy of the agreement entered into with Messrs. Wiss, Robinson and Aubert for your fuller information and observance.

12. Mr. Wiss with the four Italians whom he has procured as mentioned in the preceeding part of this letter, take[s] passage on the *Verelst*; and we have strongly recommended it to Captain Compton not only to behave in a polite and friendly manner to Mr. Wiss, but to treat the Italians in such manner

as to make their situation as comfortable as possible ; and we direct that you enquire of Mr. Wiss in what manner the Captain has treated them, as we are determined severely to resent any ill usage they shall meet with. And we recommend to you the same conduct towards these foreigners that they may meet with all due encouragement.

13. Upon the representation of Mr. Francis Peacock that he was the first person who visited the Morung country and made several discoveries there which may prove of great benefit to our service and trade in Bengal, we have permitted him to proceed to your Presidency. And, if it shall appear that the extension of trade into that country can be carried on to the Company's advantage, you may employ Mr. Peacock therein with such allowances and encouragement as you shall think the nature of his services may entitle him to ; but if it shall not appear to you to be for our interest to prosecute this trade, he is then permitted to remain in India for three years to take care of his private concerns, with leave to go into the Morung country to collect his debts now outstanding there.

14. We have also permitted Mr. James Christie to proceed to Bengal to be employed in addition to Mr. Francis Peacock, in case you shall think proper to extend the trade into the Morung country. Otherwise he is to continue in India for three years upon the same terms as Mr. Peacock.

15. The several persons who have had our licence to proceed to the East Indies this season to practise as surgeons have entered into an agreement to serve as surgeons' assistants as the President and Council of the settlement whereto they proceed shall think proper to require. Copy of the agreement is enclosed for your information.

We are,
Your loving friends,

G. Colebrooke / Fredk. Pigou / J. Man-
ship / John Harrison / Hy. Crabb
Boulton / Daniel Wier / George Cum-
ing / Robt. Gregory / Henry Fletcher /
W. G. Freeman / George Dempster /
John Roberts / Chas. Boddam / John
Woodhouse / Wm. James / J. Purling /
John Motteux / Peter Du Cane Junr. /
Ben. Booth.

London,
31st January 1770.
(Received per *Verelst*,
the 3d July 1770.)

PUBLIC LETTER DATED 23 MARCH 1770

Shipping news: restoration to service of certain ship-masters guilty of illicit trade—supply of indents from England: complaints about the negligent mode of drawing indents—censure on loss of cannon while being tested—investment: goods in demand in the English market; instructions relating to Italian silk artisans; appointment of Guinand to supervise and improve the sorting of piecegoods; regulations for checking private trade in silk and for protecting paikars and chassars; instructions to maintain amity with the Dutch and the French without slackening efforts to supplant them in commerce—trade in salt, betel-nut and tobacco: order against grant of exclusive privileges—extradition of persons coming to India without license—buildings: progress in the construction of a new fort and a dock at Fort William; inadequate control and supervision of contracts; irregularities in erecting cantonments at Berhampore—Service matters: procedural irregularities of the President and Council in the case of Bolis; reversion to the practice of attaching only one major to each brigade; strictures on the handling of contracts relating to supply of bullocks to the army—observations on revenue accounts; members of Council censured for making unauthorised payments in respect of the commission on Diwani revenues and ordered to reimburse the amount—authenticated papers relating to Bolis's case called—instructions relating to the reconstitution of the Council, the Select Committee and other committees at Fort William—revised orders relating to commission on revenue; appointment of Barker as Commander in Chief in place of Smith—vacancies in the Council to be filled by the established rule of seniority.

OUR President and Council at Fort William in Bengal.

1. We have already wrote to you this season under date of the 30th June, 15th September, 10th November, 7th December, 17th and 31st January last.

2. We shall send this in duplicate by the ships under dispatch and will contain our sentiments and directions at large with respect to the general affairs at your Presidency.

3. Having appointed Commissioners as already advised for the better regulating many very essential branches of our concerns in the East Indics, we shall not in the course of these advices give our orders in so positive a manner as we otherwise should on several points, lest they might clash with those which the Commissioners may think proper to issue.

4. We shall now arrange our orders and remarks under the usual established heads, and

First, of shipping

5. Captains Richard Lewin, Edward Lord Chick, John Webb and Thomas Howe, late Commanders of the ships *Vansittart*, *Anson*, *London* and *Nottingham*, having expressed their deepest concern at incurring our displeasure in

carrying out illicit trade, we have, notwithstanding what is said respecting them in our letter of the 11th November 1768, been induced to restore them to the Company's service in hopes that the disadvantage they have sustained during the time of their dismissal as well as sentiments of gratitude for their restoration will be sufficient to restrain them from such misconduct in future.

6. Your giving a gratuity to the master of a sloop who had at great risk of his vessel saved the lives of several recruits that were in a boat which was upset meets with our approbation, not only for the humanity of the action, but as an encouragement for others to exert themselves on similar occasions.

7. In settling accounts with the owners of the *Norfolk* upon which ship you sent ten military as charterparty passengers, it did not appear, either by your letters or Consultations, whether you paid for the passage or not. We therefore direct that in future you mention in the Consultations and General Letters whether or not the commanders are paid for the passengers which are ordered on their ships, also the sums that are paid.

*Secondly, of goods from Europe or from one part
of India to another*

8. In consequence of your earnest recommendation by the *Valentine*¹ that your future indent for steel might be complied with, we sent twenty-five tons on the *Lapwing* snow in part of the expected demand, but when your indents were received we were greatly surprized to find only five tons were desired. This proceeding we esteem a confirmation of the little attention you pay to the drawing out the indents.

9. Another instance is in your desiring in the 36th paragraph of the General Letter of the 2d February 1769 twenty brass six-pounder field pieces, twenty twelve-pounders, twenty eighteen-pounders, and ten twenty-four-pounders; and in the indent dated the following day the quantity desired of those articles appeared to be twenty six-pounders, six twelve-pounders, six eighteen-pounders, and eight twenty-four pounders; nor was this difference cleared up till an additional indent was sent for that purpose dated the 2d of the following month.

10. You have likewise indented for no less than five thousand shells of twelve inches three-quarters when it does not appear you have a single mortar of that size in store, and we cannot suppose they are intended for thirteen inch mortars, as the same indent brings a demand for five thousand shells of that size.

11. The founders have been and still continue very fully employed in making brass pieces for your's and the other Presidencies, and when they have completed their present orders we shall then consider what further number is necessary to be sent of the indents received this year. The several ships of this season carry about fourteen pieces of brass ordnance of different natures, for the particulars of which you are referred to the several invoices.

12. We have upon your repeated solicitations for the three last years sent a quantity of shoes and hats: but this year we have not sent any, nor

only on account of their not being indented for, but as it appeared all those already sent remained in the import warehouse, the 30th January 1769.

13. We are unable to express our concern at the repeated loss of cannon at your Presidency, occasioned by want of knowledge in proving them. Whatever excuses might be urged in your favor in former instances relative to accidents of this nature, we must declare that the loss of eleven six-pounders, five twelve-pounders, and five eighteen-pounders, in all twenty-one pieces of brass cannon, mentioned in your General Letter 2d February 1769, was, as far as appears to us, wholly owing to unpardonable negligence and want of attention to a matter of so great consequence.

14. By our advices in 1766 you were informed of the quantity of powder which is the King's proof charge for light brass field pieces, and that we were fully convinced that so many pieces being condemned was owing to the established quantity of powder being exceeded. After the receipt of those advices, will it be credited that by Consultation 27th December 1768 it appears that twenty-one brass cannon were burst by being tried with *double* the specified quantity of powder established for proof. And further, will it be believed that our servants could have read our said letter of 21st November 1766 which expressly says "that six pounds of powder is proper proof for a twelve-pounder, and three pounds of powder for a six-pounder", and afterwards that they could have entered on their Consultation that double the quantity had been used, and twenty-one guns thereby burst to pieces, and yet write to the Commander in Chief, desiring his opinion, whether the bursting of the guns might *be attributed to the badness of the metal, or to their being tried with an improper quantity of powder?* We are utterly at a loss how to account for such extraordinary conduct. The

Lre. to 21st Novr.
Pa. 49.

Cons. 27 Decr.
1768.

person who signs the report of ordnance proved stiles himself Acting Commissary of Stores. But surely the Acting Commissary, if it was his duty at all to prove the guns, ought not to have proceeded to such proof without proper instructions formed from or, previous knowledge had of our above recited advices, so long since by us transmitted. If he was ignorant of the nature of that particular branch of the service, why was it committed to his care? But as it cannot be conceived (though he might not be properly qualified) that he was utterly unacquainted with the *importance* thereof, and as we cannot suppose he would wantonly destroy the property of the Company, we therefore must attribute the whole miscarriage to those whose duty it was to have proved the guns, or who have failed to instruct the officer who did prove them in the quantity of powder necessary for such proof. You tell us other officers shall be employed in such services in future; but as it was equally the duty of the present^a Superintendant or his Deputy^b to have prevented, as far as might be, the loss of those guns which have been destroyed by taking care the proper quantity of powder only should be used, and which has not been done, they are justly answerable to the Company not only for the value of the said guns but the consequences which may happen to our service, should it in any wise suffer by the want of them, which is far from being improbable, for we observe in the next paragraph of your letter you inform us that you have only 34 pieces

- (a) Mr. Claud Russell
- (b) Mr. Charles Floyers

in garrison, and that all the brigades are in want of field artillery, therefore you desire seventy pieces may be sent you.

15. The elucidation of this matter by Mr. Floyer, though satisfactory to you, affords us no satisfaction whatever. On the contrary it confirms us in our opinion that the grossest inattention has been more general in all those whose duty it was to have been better acquainted with our orders than we could have ventured to suppose could have been the case. Mr. Floyer says, "The orders contained in the General Letter relative to the future method of proving cannon were issued to him as Military Storekeeper on the *11th June 1767*; and on the 9th July he delivered over the charge of that employ to Mr. Russell."

16. It appears on your Consultations that the paragraph referred to was not *ordered* to be copied for the Military Storekeeper till *June 13th*, so that it seems very extraordinary and improbable that it could have been issued to him the *11th of June*.

17. Mr. Floyer, who officiated for Mr. Russell, asked Mr. Bennet if he had not received the said orders from Mr. Volham, who was dead but had preceded Mr. Bennet in that station. Mr. Bennet answers *that none had been delivered to him*, and being totally ignorant of any new form prescribed, he had pursued that which had ever been practised by Major Winwood and Mr. Volham.

18. The above question was trifling. It is absolutely the duty of the Superintendant to take care that Mr. Bennet was actually acquainted with the orders of the Court of Directors, and not by negligence on his part to leave the Acting Commissary *entirely ignorant of any such orders being received*, which are his own express words. Nevertheless, we also declare that if copy of the Court's orders is an office paper with the Military Storekeeper, Mr. Bennet also merits severe marks of our displeasure for acting in that office and remaining totally ignorant of such order. In vain do we take all methods in our power to obtain proper information and frequently at great expence, when our servants do not pay so much regard to our orders given in consequence thereof as even to become with any exactness acquainted with the bare contents of such our orders.

19. We have therefore given it in charge to our Commissioners to enquire into the cause of such want of attention as has produced effects so much to our disadvantage; and to them we shall leave it to censure, suspend, dismiss, degrade, or otherwise punish those who have so much failed in their duty, and also to obtain such satisfaction to the Company as the nature of the case may justly require.

Thirdly, of investment²

20. Enclosed you will receive list of goods to be provided for the ships consigned to your Presidency this season, containing also our remarks and observations upon the investment received last season, to which we require as strict an obedience as if inserted in the body of this letter.

21. The large investment we have received from your Presidency this season convinces us of your attention to our interest, and we shall depend

in garrison, and that all the brigades are in want of field artillery, therefore you desire seventy pieces may be sent you.

15. The elucidation of this matter by Mr. Floyer, though satisfactory to you, affords us no satisfaction whatever. On the contrary it confirms us in our opinion that the grossest inattention has been more general in all those whose duty it was to have been better acquainted with our orders than we could have ventured to suppose could have been the case. Mr. Floyer says, "The orders contained in the General Letter relative to the future method of proving cannon were issued to him as Military Storekeeper on the *11th June 1767* ; and on the 9th July he delivered over the charge of that employ to Mr. Russell."

16. It appears on your Consultations that the paragraph referred to was not *ordered* to be copied for the Military Storekeeper till *June 13th*, so that it seems very extraordinary and improbable that it could have been issued to him the *11th of June*.

17. Mr. Floyer, who officiated for Mr. Russell, asked Mr. Bennet if he had not received the said orders from Mr. Volham, who was dead but had preceded Mr. Bennet in that station. Mr. Bennet answers *that none had been delivered to him*, and being totally ignorant of any new form prescribed, he had pursued that which had ever been practised by Major Winwood and Mr. Volham.

18. The above question was trifling. It is absolutely the duty of the Superintendant to take care that Mr. Bennet was actually acquainted with the orders of the Court of Directors, and not by negligence on his part to leave the Acting Commissary *entirely ignorant of any such orders being received*, which are his own express words. Nevertheless, we also declare that if copy of the Court's orders is an office paper with the Military Storekeeper, Mr. Bennet also merits severe marks of our displeasure for acting in that office and remaining totally ignorant of such order. In vain do we take all methods in our power to obtain proper information and frequently at great expence, when our servants do not pay so much regard to our orders given in consequence thereof as even to become with any exactness acquainted with the bare contents of such our orders.

19. We have therefore given it in charge to our Commissioners to enquire into the cause of such want of attention as has produced effects so much to our disadvantage ; and to them we shall leave it to censure, suspend, dismiss, degrade, or otherwise punish those who have so much failed in their duty, and also to obtain such satisfaction to the Company as the nature of the case may justly require.

Thirdly, of investment^a

20. Enclosed you will receive list of goods to be provided for the ships consigned to your Presidency this season, containing also our remarks and observations upon the investment received last season, to which we require as strict an obedience as if inserted in the body of this letter.

21. The large investment we have received from your Presidency this season convinces us of your attention to our interest, and we shall depend

upon your exerting yourselves as much as possible to prevent the French and Dutch from carrying on theirs consistently with the amity subsisting with those states, and as the French Company is not re-established we hope it will enable you to encrease it still more.

22. As the matter of investment is of the greatest importance to our interest, because on that alone depends our prosperity and existence, we have bestowed very great attention to the goods which answer best at this market. You will find our observations at large in the list of investment, and we particularly recommend to you to encourage the growth of that silk, and the manufacture of those goods which appear on the list of investment to be most in demand at this market.

23. The method you took of purchasing such ready money goods³ in Calcutta as were procurable at a reasonable rate in order to compleat the tonnage for the several ships you had on hand was very commendable and meets with our entire approbation.

Lre from 2d Feb.
1769 pa. 47.

24. The saltpetre imported by several ships lately, though invoiced at the same price, has been of different qualities, which not being discovered till it was weighed off to the buyers, we have been obliged to make them an allowance upon the brown sort. In order to avoid the like inconveniences in future you must distinguish each sortment in the invoice and bill of lading, and also take care that the quality of that you send is the best.

25. Mr. Wiss, one of the persons whom according to our letter of the 31st January last we have engaged for the improvement of your raw silk investment and is himself a very capable manufacturer, is to be stationed at Commercolly or the principal silk *aurung* as shall appear most conducive to our interest, and the four Italians who are absolutely engaged to serve under Mr. Wiss must accompany him for that purpose.

26. Mr. Robinson, also entertained in the same branch, is to reside at Rungpoor or wherever else you shall deem his services therein may best be exerted; but as he has not himself been able to procure any reelers, and if he shall be disappointed of one or two hands expected soon from Italy, care must be taken to provide him with some of the best workmen that can be picked up in the country to be instructed by him, until we can send to his assistance, by the first ship of next season, some Italians, whom we have given directions to be engaged to serve in the filature to be by him established; and in the mean time you are to direct that when Mr. Wiss shall have qualified some of the natives as reelers according to his method, that he do supply a sufficient number of them to be sent to and employed under Mr. Robinson; in a word we expect and require that you furnish him with the best assistance the country is capable of affording, and that Messrs. Wiss and Aubert can spare, for his proceeding in this business, until he receives the Italians proposed to be sent as abovementioned.

27. Mr. William Aubert, whom you have been also acquainted proceeds for the like purposes, and on the same footing as Messrs. Wiss and Robinson, is to be stationed at another principal silk *aurung* with the three foreign assistants he brings with him, and who shall not, as mentioned in the preceding paragraph, be appointed to serve under Mr. Robinson, to whom also it is

specially directed that he do spare some of the natives, as soon as they shall be qualified in the proper manner of reeling, in the same manner as Mr. Wiss is before directed to do, that Mr. Robinson may be the better enabled to conduct his filature, until he obtains the Italian assistants proposed to be sent for him next season.

28. No time is to be lost in sending the above three persons severally after their arrival without one waiting for another, to the places of their destination, in order that they may make the necessary dispositions and prepare the proper buildings and apparatus for entering upon their respective filatures as early in the season as possible.

29. They are each to reside at different places in order to encourage a spirit of emulation ; and as it is extremely material to this valuable article of our trade that the method of spinning or drawing the silk as practised at Novi and proposed to be established by these artists should be entirely adopted throughout the whole country, they must, so soon as the natives are sufficiently instructed to work under a proper overseer at any *aurung*, proceed to different and distant ones to conduct other filatures until that method shall be compleatly and universally established.

30. Messrs. Wiss, Robinson and Aubert are so sufficiently masters of the business they have undertaken for the improvement and extention of the silk manufacture that we do not see it necessary at present to give any further instructions on the subject than to recommend that they be in general directed to wind the silk in the same manner as is done in Novi as clean as possible, and the threads to be drawn off not less than eight, or more than eighteen cocoons, marking on the outside of each bale, and on a ticket to be enclosed therein, the number of cocoons and the name of the Superintendant under whose direction it is wound ; and we especially insist on a punctual observation of this rule.

31. At the instance of Mr. Robinson we have agreed to pay here £40 per annum for his father's use. You are therefore to deduct that sum annually out of the stipend to be allowed him for his services as mentioned in our letter dated the 31st January last.

32. Anthony Broche, Anthony Burguier and John Peter Aigoin who proceed on the *Morse* are engaged as reelers of silk from Nismes in Languedoc to serve under Mr. William Aubert at the salary of £40 sterling a year each to commence from the 1st February last, and are to be paid the amount of their travelling charges from Nismes to Bengal (which has been done here) and back to Nismes at the end of five years from their arrival in Bengal, if they should not chuse to remain any longer in India ; they are also to be paid house rent and charges of travelling from place to place in India ; and £15 a year is to be deducted from the allowances of Anthony Broche and Anthony Burguier to be paid here for the use of their families. Copy of the contract they have entered into is enclosed in the said ship's packet, and you must not omit by every opportunity to acquaint us whether these people and those who accompanied Mr. Wiss are living and remain in our service.

33. We have also entertained James Demarin, an ingenious and skilfull mechanic, at the salary of £50 a year to commence from the 1st inst. In every other respect he is to be upon the footing of the three beforementioned

workmen, and to be employed under Mr. Aubert subject to your orders in constructing engines to be used in the filatures.

34. We have purchased of Mr. Aubert two models of machines to be used in the winding of silk which are invoiced by the *Morse*. He is to have the benefit of their use until he shall have given specimens of his abilities as an artist in the manufacture of the silk to be sent here which shall be wound under his direction, and afterwards those models are to be communicated to Messrs. Wiss and Robinson that they may provide themselves with the like if they shall be found advantageous; and they are constantly to remain in your custody at the Presidency, where the said James Demarin is to be employed in making the necessary apparatus for the silk works, which when completed he is then to serve wherever you shall think proper.

35. Notwithstanding we have repeatedly complained of great defects in the providing and assorting your investment of piece goods, yet as those complaints still subsist whereby our sales here are greatly prejudiced, we have thought it expedient in order to prevent them in future to appoint Mr. Henry Guinand, who is perfectly acquainted with the sortments proper for the European markets, to be Superintendant of Piece Goods under your Presidency at the salary of four hundred pounds a year to commence upon his arrival, also twenty pounds per calendar month for subsistence instead of diet money, and he is to have all his travelling charges defrayed in going from one place to another in India. We have paid the expence of his passage out, and he is also to be allowed the expence of his voyage home, as stipulated in his agreement with the Company, of which we send a copy. And it is our positive order that he be neither permitted to trade for himself, or to procure goods of any kind, either directly or indirectly, for any other persons whatever, and we shall severely resent the least disobedience of this order.

36. The principal defects which are pointed out and which Mr. Guinand has undertaken to rectify are the great mixture of sorts in the same bale; the want of variety and novelty in all flowered, striped and checked muslins, also in all coloured prohibited goods; the neglect of providing sundry species of muslins and other goods imported by foreign companies with great profit; the small investment of superfine muslins much in demand for foreign and home trade; and the inferior quality of sundry sorts of muslins annually degenerating so much as not to answer their denomination. You must therefore further our views in this important branch of our commerce by employing Mr. Guinand in such manner as to answer the ends of his appointment either by his overlooking and sorting the bales as they are received into the export warehouse at Calcutta or by his taking the circuit of the *aurungs* and instructing the persons there in what manner the goods should be manufactured and sorted for their exportation to Europe.

37. As it does not appear that Mr. De la Porte has answered our expectations in sending him out, we direct that upon the receipt of this letter his salary do cease, and he is hereby permitted to reside in India as a free merchant so long as he behaves to your satisfaction.

38. We have observed in our investment this year the great inattention of the sorters at many places in suffering goods to be packed of different qualities and species in the same bale, as also others rotten or damaged in the

middle of the piece. This is so great neglect of their duty that we order the native in whose immediate department the goods have been found faulty be directly dismissed our service, and also that the Chief Warehouse Keeper of that department be reprimanded, as by this inattention it has already been a great charge to us by the buyers examining every piece in many bales and returning those which they find to be damaged. And if this is not remedied in future, it will give such discredit to the goods that the buyers will open all the bales to examine every piece, which will amount to an immense sum in labor, to prevent which in future we direct that every piece be examined over a roller before it is packed. The species of goods and places they have been received from are as follows, *vizt.*

*Goods damaged and in holes**

<i>Baftaes</i>	...	...	...	...	Islamabad ⁴
<i>Emmerties</i>	...	...	...	...	Patna
<i>Laccowries</i>	...	...	...	...
<i>Mammoodies</i>	...	...	...	...
<i>Gurrahs</i>	...	...	...	...	Soonamokie Aurung

Goods mixt

<i>Cossaes</i>	...	...	...	...	Maulda Aurung
<i>Mulmuls</i>	...	...	.	...	Keerpoy Aurung Santipore
<i>Seerbettees</i>	...	...	.	...	Dacca

39. We have taken into consideration the case of Mr. Barwell, late Resident at Beauleah⁵; and although we concur with you in opinion that Mr. Barwell has been evasive in his answers to the queries of the Board of Cossimbuzar, which it was his duty to have answered plainly and fully, and we disapprove his making new regulations for conducting the investment without consulting the Chief and Council or immediately acquainting them thereof, yet as we do not find that Mr. Barwell has in any respect acted unfaithfully towards us, we are of opinion he should not have been removed from his Residency at Beauleah, especially as we wish seniority in our service may in all cases find every reasonable encouragement, unless disability or dishonesty in our senior servants should justly preclude their claims and render it absolutely necessary they should be superseded.

40. It appears by the correspondence of Mr. Barwell that it has been the custom in time past for the Company's *pykars* who collect *putney* for the factory at Beauleah to bring thither quantities of ferrit [ferret] and three lettered *putney*, which, not being of the sortment fit for our investments, have been always sent to the members of the Council at Cossimbuzar as private trade though purchased by the Company's cash, advanced to the *pykars* for the purpose of providing our investment. We utterly disapprove this mode of proceeding because when the *pykars* have fallen short of delivering the quantity of *putney* which the large advances made to them gave reason to expect, they have complained that the rejected *putney* as well as fine silk having been

* Trade symbols against each of the items are given in the ms., but they have been omitted here.—Ed.

purchased with the Company's money, and for which they had no other fund, and perhaps were not paid for such rejected *putney* until a considerable time after the delivery thereof at Cossimbuzar, therefore further advances were absolutely necessary, otherwise our investment must suffer hindrance and diminution.

41. The outstanding balances to *pykars* exceed so greatly our expectations that we cannot but believe due care has not been taken at the close of each *bund* for the amount of all the silk purchased with our money to be brought to account ; for although an increase of investment necessarily occasions a larger advance than formerly to be made to the *pykars*, yet it by no means follows that at the close of the *bund* they should be more indebted to us than was usually the case when the investment was less extensive. On the contrary the more silk they contract for the greater must be their profits, and their ability to discharge the whole money advanced to them at the commencement of the *bund* cannot be lessened by an increased trade. In order therefore to prevent as far as may be this evil in time to come, we direct that all the ferrit silk and three lettered *putney* delivered in consequence of the advance made by the Company to the *pykars* be put under the inspection of one or more of the three persons we have sent out this year to superintend the manufacturing of raw silk ; and we doubt not but they will be able to wind it off in such a manner as to make it answer the European market, and if that should be the case, due care must be taken that it be packed separately, and invoiced under the head of ferrit silk, and three lettered *putney*, agreeable to the 47th paragraph of our letter of the 11th November 1768. And we further direct that those of the *pykars* who discover proper skill and care in procuring our investment and pay the greatest attention to the reduction of their outstanding balances at the close of each *bund* have ever the preference in your advances for the next season ; and that you use your utmost endeavors speedily to recover all outstanding balances from such of the *pykars* who are in arrears to us.

42. And we further direct that at every subordinate factory, district or other place whatever where *putney* may be provided for our investment, accounts be duly kept of the several species of silk produced at such subordinate factory or district, distinguishing particularly what quantity may be fit for our investment as fine silk, and also of ferrit which may be found proper to send hither, and of such refuse silk as must of necessity be rejected, ascertaining thereby, as near as may be, the whole produce of the country, and that such account be regularly entered on your Consultations at the close of every *bund* for our information. It is also our pleasure that you take the greatest care to prevent those who may have the inspection of the *putney* from rejecting any under the name of refuse *putney* which shall not be absolutely unfit to be sent to Europe under the denomination of ferrit silk. And if you should at any time discover that any fraud or collusion whatever be practiced by those who may have the care of this business, whereby ferrit silk may be deemed unfit for the European market when it actually is not so, we direct that you forthwith dismiss from our service every person, of whatever rank or station, who may be found unfaithful in a matter which we deem of great consequence and do therefore so particularly charge you effectually to carry into execution.

43. As our servants at Cossimbuzar and Beauleah have declared "that obstruction to private trade in silk must in the end prove detrimental to the Company's revenue, which deserves at least equal attention with the investments, and that the investment clashes with the collection of revenues", we direct that you do without loss of time explain to us in the fullest manner how our revenues can be affected by restrictions laid on private trade in *putney*, and in what manner providing the investment clashes with the collection of the said revenues. You are also at the same time to specify, as nearly as possible, the quantity, in every district, of ferrit and three lettered *putney* usually rejected by the Company, the whole quantity which is purchased by private traders, the amount of the revenues arising therefrom or by means thereof, and the mode of collection of such revenues, that we may be the better enabled to judge of the propriety of allowing a greater latitude, or of abridging the growing extension of private trade in *putney*, and also to apply proper remedies for removing, as far as may be, every obstruction in collecting the revenues.

44. We cannot think it prudent to permit private traders to wind off three lettered *putney* at pleasure without its passing through the factory, as this custom opens such an inlet to private trade as may, nay, must necessarily, operate to the hinderance of our investment, and be a continual temptation to those concerned to wind off such *putney* as we have prohibited being purchased for any other purpose than for our investments. We therefore direct that such practice be utterly discontinued in future: and we the more strictly enjoin this, because we observe representations have been made by former Residents at Beauleah that private merchants and *gomastahs* have oftentimes interfered in the Company's purchases of silk.

45. You are to take care, at the commencement of every *bund* or oftner, that at all your subordinates or factories, when advances are made to *pykars*, each *pykar* be called before the Chief of the subordinate^s and Council, or the Resident, and two others at least of our servants, next in authority, if so many reside at such factory where any advances may be issued to the said *pykars*; and that to each of the *pykars* separately a copy be delivered of their outstanding balances if any such there be, with a particular account of the advance last made to them. And they are to be examined whether they have actually received the amount for which they are debited; and care must also be taken that the answers of each *pykar* respectively thereto be entered at large, and transmitted to you, which must also be entered on your Consultations immediately for our information. This mode of proceeding is on no account to be neglected or discontinued, and by which means those frauds and oppressions formerly practised by the sircar paymasters or their banyans in detaining part of the advances in their own hands and obtaining from the *pykars* receipts for the whole will, we hope, be prevented in future.

46. The complaints of the *chassars* against the *pykars* should be very carefully attended to. Every prudent means should be used to restore harmony between those who are so immediately and mutually concerned in the provision of our investment. If the *chassars* are oppressed, relief should be administered; yet in such manner, if possible, as not to lessen the influence of our *pykars* with those persons on whom the investment principally depends. Such of the *pykars* who do not honestly pay the *chassar* but leave a balance due at the close

of the *bund* to those who rear the worms or wind the silk deserve severe reprehension for misusing our advances made to them, and are by no means worthy your confidence in future. You will by diligent enquiry soon inform yourselves if this be the case, and take such measures thereupon as may effectually prevent hindrance being given to our investment by the mismanagement of the Company's *pykars*.

47. It does not appear to us that any considerable obstructions can arise to prevent the increase of the number of *aurungs* for supplying our investment, or such quantity of silk from being provided at those *aurungs* as may fully answer our expectations, and as this is a matter we have much at heart, and are determined to have accomplished so far as may be practicable, we therefore direct that you take care effectually to prevent all private traders and their *gomastahs* from interfering in any respect whatever with our purchases of silk, or at the *aurungs* where our investment is provided. And in order fully to convince as well our servants at subordinates as also all private traders that we shall not on any account permit an evasion of this our order, we further direct that no private trader be permitted to purchase silk of any kind or quality whatever at any *aurung* from whence our investment is supplied; but that all such private traders be compelled to seek other *aurungs*, not in any degree appropriated to our service, and from such *aurungs* only all silk for private trade must be procured. And if any of our servants or any private trader shall be found guilty of transgressing this our positive injunction, it is our express will and pleasure that you immediately dismiss every such servant from our service, and also that you withdraw our protection from every such private trader who shall be found guilty of a breach of this our order.

48. We do not approve that part of your order to subordinates which enjoins implicit obedience to be paid by the Residents at our several factories to the orders of the Chief of a subordinate. It is our pleasure that all orders that require implicit obedience be issued not by the *Chief singly*, but by the Chief and Council; and that all orders given, answers received, and all other proceedings whatever relative to our investments, be not communicated by the Chief to the Council, but that the *Chief and Council* do issue such orders, and that all remonstrances and answers thereto be addressed not to the *Chief alone*, but to the Chief and Council of such subordinate respectively from whom the orders may have been issued, or in extraordinary cases to the Governor and Council at Calcutta. And we direct that immediately on receipt hereof, you transmit a copy of this our order to every subordinate and factory within your Presidency, that it may be an invariable rule to be observed in future by all our servants at every such subordinate and factory.

49. The papers containing complaints of the Dutch Council at Houghley, transmitted to you by letters no. 89 and 90, relative to interruption given them in their trade, were, you say, referred to the Committee of *Aurungs*,¹ and that Committee was desired to enquire strictly and minutely into those representations in order to "*prevent, if possible, any of the like complaints in future*". We are sorry to be obliged to observe that your omission of the entry of those complaints justly subject you to our censure. We expect every material information to be fully entered in its proper place, whereby we may be enabled to judge of the pro-

Lre. from
13 Sept. 1768,
Para. 60.

Cons. 27
June 1768.

priety of complaints, and the application of proper remedies. We can by no means excuse neglects of this nature, and we strictly enjoin that in every matter of consequence, you do take care that all papers relative thereto be regularly entered at large. As those transmitted by the Dutch Council were by you deemed worthy so strict an examination, we must believe they ought to have been communicated to us. And if the disputes are not wholly subsided, we direct that you transmit the whole to us by the first opportunity, together with your own proceedings thereupon, that we may take such steps for maintaining a proper degree of amity as may prevent disagreeable remonstrances from being preferred at home.

50. The proposal of Mr. Chevalier "that the investment of the two Companies be provided at the Calcutta *aurungs* by one purchaser" would have been totally rejected, had the French Company still existed; but the dissolution of that Company has rendered it needless to remark further on the absurdity of such proposal. It is our desire that you take care not to violate the faith of treaties, and that you live on good terms with the French, so far as may be practicable; but it is no less our wish to supplant them, as far as we may safely and prudently do it, in their commerce. We would by no means have them informed of the extent of our investments, could it be avoided, much less can we permit theirs and ours to be provided by the same person and shared in specified proportions.

Fourthly, of the trade of India, transactions with the country powers and European nations

51. We have directed our Commissioners to take care that the trade for salt, betelnut and tobacco be laid open, that no exclusive privileges be allowed to the English, that duties or regulations be not evaded under pretence of respect due to the English flag; and we do strictly enjoin you to conform to such regulations, or to any others which our said Commissioners may deem for the good of our service and direct to be observed.

52. We are informed that several persons have of late proceeded to India, by way of Aleppo^a, who are not licensed by us, particularly in December 1767: Robert Hunter, a clerk to one of the members of the Turkey Company, and Jacob Goverts, a Hamburger (in April 1769) for the Dutch settlements; George Smith also arrived at Bussorah the 30th July last intending to proceed to Bengal, but continued at the former place as clerk to Mr. Garden. We are firmly resolved to put an end to this practice by executing the laws in force for preventing all persons from proceeding to the East Indies without our license, and for immediately sending home all such who have not our permission to continue there; and herewith we transmit you an abstract of those laws which you are hereby authorized and required to carry into speedy and effectual execution, particularly enjoining you to see that the same is done in regard to the abovenamed persons, if they shall be found in India and within the limits of your jurisdiction.

53. It having been also represented to us that such unlicensed persons do by means of the commanders of country ships from the Gulph of Persia obtain a passage into India, as such commanders are thereby guilty of a flagrant

Cons. 18th
April.

Lrc. from
13th Sept. 1768,
Pa. 64.

breach of our standing orders, we strictly require you to deprive all such offenders of our protection and send them to England after having given them a reasonable time not exceeding twelve months to settle their private concerns.

54. We gave you an intimation in our letter of the 30th June last, from which you may have formed an expectation that a squadron of men of war, if necessary, would be sent to India for the defence of our possessions against any designs of an European power. It is proper you should be acquainted that in our late intercourse with His Majesty's Ministers, in consequence of the application of the General Court of Proprietors on this subject (as mentioned in our letter of the 15th September last), it does not appear probable that, as peace has been made with Hyder Ally⁹, any such assistance will be afforded this season, notwithstanding we have constantly represented that ships of the line are needful in India to guard our settlements against being surprized by an European enemy.

Fifthly, of fortifications, buildings and revenues

55. We are glad to learn by your letter of the 28th March that Colonel Campbell was arrived and had taken upon him the charge of your works,

and we have that confidence in his integrity and abilities
 Pas. 6 & 8. that we doubt not very soon to hear your fortifications¹⁰ are
 in great forwardness. The alterations in them and the
 necessity of piling in a different manner in order to alter the course of the river
 and thereby prevent its encroachments on the works, we shall leave to Colonel
 Campbell, subject to the controul of the Governor and Council, or the Com-
 missioners if present, as they must be the best judges by being on the spot.
 We therefore direct that you be very particular in your consultations upon
 this subject, as the expence already incurred is almost insupportable.

56. Sensible of the public utility the constructing docks at your Presidency
 would be to commerce we gave permission last season for building one, and
 it is with great pleasure we learn by your General Letter of
 11th Novr. 1768, the 28th March that Colonel Campbell and Captain Wat-
 Pa. 126. son¹¹ had undertaken to construct proper docks, slips and
 dock yards for building and careening at all seasons, times, and tides of ships
 of every kind from the rate of a seventy-four gun ship downwards at their
 own risk and expence. We entirely approve of the encouragement and assist-
 ance you gave to so laudable an undertaking, which you are to continue so
 as it will not to take off the workmen from or any way interfere with carrying
 on your fortifications; and we shall as readily comply with the requests their
 agents here may make to send any articles that may be wanted for this
 purpose.

57. We observe by your letter per *Salisbury* that you intend carrying
 on all public works by contract under proper inspection and
 2nd Febr. 1769, prudent regulations. This we believe may be the most ad-
 pa. 63. vantageous mode of proceeding. But it is with concern we
 find that contracts have been more than once violated, and the forfeited
 penalties remitted. As this practice must naturally tend to destroy the good
 effects of proceeding by contract, we have been induced to examine strictly into
 the causes of such absolution from terms entered into and remission of the

penalties incurred by contractors; and as things at present appear to us, we must declare ourselves much dissatisfied with your conduct relative thereto.

58. In your General Letter per *Valentine* you say, "The persons who contracted to supply your new works with bricks for last year failed in the performance of their contract. But upon a representation of circumstances that were the occasion of it, which were principally accidents that could not be foreseen or avoided, and this representation being confirmed by the opinion of Mr. Russel, one of the members of the Committee of Works, we agreed to remit *conditionally* the penalty they had incurred." And in your General Letter per *Salisbury* you inform us you consented to repeal a former order passed the 7th of November and to absolve the contractors *entirely* from the penalty they had incurred.

13 Sepr. 1768,
Pa. 85.

2nd Febr. 1769,
Pa. 64.

59. On the 4th February 1767 your Committee of Works informed you they had concluded a very advantageous contract for bricks. The contractors were to deliver 60 lacks the first season. They fell short of the stipulated number upwards of twelve lacks. The reason assigned by the contractors for such deficiency was, because *regular inspectors* were not appointed sooner than May 1767, and those who before that time had the management of that service rejected nearly the same quantity of good bricks which the contractors fell short (who thereby failed of compleating their contract) and permitted them to sell them to private people; so that the ends and purposes of entering into contract were entirely defeated thereby. It was certainly your duty to have provided proper inspectors at the beginning of the season. Those persons who could be prevailed upon to abuse their trust and reject good bricks to answer private purposes were capable of approving bad bricks if they had found the same reasons for so doing, and were therefore unfit at any rate to superintend the works. And you ought not to have remained so long ignorant of the state of the case as to render abortive the contractors' endeavors to fulfil their agreement. The contractors should have complained to you sooner, and not have sold ten or twelve lacks of good bricks to private persons first, and then request your advice, when it was too late to profit thereby. And therefore we cannot suppose you acted discreetly or warrantably when you remitted the penalty so far as it related to the first season.

60. In the second season, as the deficiency of the contractors appears to have been wholly owing to unforeseen and unavoidable causes, we approve your conduct in absolving the contractors from that part of the contract which respects the second season only.

61. We have carefully attended to the conduct of those of our servants with whose negligence or dishonesty at Burrampore¹² we have reason to be dissatisfied. And we are of opinion that as it was the indispensable duty of the Chief at Cossimbuzar, so it was also in a great measure in his power, either to have prevented the commission, or long continuance at least of almost all those frauds which have taken place, and thereby that enormous excess of expence which has been incurred at Burrampore would have been avoided. Mr. Sykes, who had the inspection of the accounts monthly, might without difficulty have detected almost every imposition, had he paid proper attention to that part of his duty which related to inspecting the said accounts; because, by an immediate reference to the then current price all overcharges in

materials might have been immediately ascertained, which could not with the greatest application, be precisely or satisfactorily done twelve months afterwards. And as to his plea of other business having engrossed his time, it is by no means such an excuse which we can admit in his justification. He ought to have made an early representation of that circumstance to you, and indeed you should have originally appointed a person well qualified for such an undertaking, to superintend the works and prevent impositions, knowing as you did that Mr. Sykes's avocations in our service did not afford him sufficient leisure for inspecting so closely as might have been done.

62. Although we much approve your conduct from the time the enquiry has commenced to that of its being compleated, yet we can by no means persuade ourselves that it was altogether blameless in you to suffer so long the abuses to be continued before effectual enquiry was made concerning them. We say effectual enquiry because we observe Mr. Forbes alleges in his defence that his monthly accounts had been examined and received the entire sanction of the Chief at Cossimbuzar, been approved by the Council of that place and by the Committee of Accounts at your Presidency, and that no deficiencies appeared till near twelve months after such approvals; and Mr. Palk, we find, also makes established custom the only plea for his overcharges.

Cons. 4th Octr.
1768.

63. As we cannot suppose those persons whose duty it was to inspect the accounts to have been unqualified for such trust in point of knowledge without impeaching the conduct of our Governor and Council who appointed them to that office, so on the other hand, supposing them sufficiently intelligent and capable of filling the station in a proper manner, we cannot but deem them to have been guilty of notorious negligence or great unfaithfulness when they audited and approved accounts so very fraudulent as those of Mr. Forbes appear to have been.

64. We are aware that a man who could so far deviate from duty as Mr. Forbes has done may be supposed capable of writing in the style he wrote to you, even admitting there was no foundation in fact for many of his very extraordinary assertions. Nevertheless, we cannot but wish that you had plainly and fully replied to that part of his defence where he affirms, "That he is thoroughly convinced his transactions will bear the test of any comparison you may choose to make with the accounts of any gentleman who holds an office of this nature under the Company, and desires the reasonableness of his charges may be determined by some such standard."

65. Whatever audacity there may appear on the part of Mr. Forbes in the above declaration and request, yet we confess it our opinion that such charge as is implied therein ought to have been openly and fully refuted, and not barely contradicted, which is all that has been done by you. You seem to make Mr. Forbes's reflections on the service in general part of your reason for the sentence which you pass upon him; but, we repeat it, we believe you ought rather, to us at least, to have proved that Mr. Forbes's plea of *established custom* for any part of the undue advantages made by him was groundless. We are the more particular herein as we think it was a proper opportunity for you to shew that all that zeal for the good of our service which you profess has indeed been by you exercised.

Cons. 7th Novr.
1768.

66. But however alarming it may be to find that the *Buxies*, who were persons, some of them, of long standing in our service, have abused their trust, and that the overcharges of those whose proper province it was to have guarded our property at Burrumpore from the designs of any who might attempt to defraud us have amounted to no less sum than two lacks of rupees, yet we observe that those overcharges are a very trivial loss in comparison of the whole sustained by means of the indiscretions exercised relative to the cantonments at Burrumpore.

67. When Lord Clive and Council came to a resolution to have the cantonments erected, and ordered the Chief at Cossimbuzar to supply the materials, make the necessary advances, pay the people employed, and transmit the accounts monthly, it was expressly ordered that the whole expence *should not exceed two lacks and one half* [$2\frac{1}{2}$ lacks] *of rupees or three lacks at the most*. In consequence of that order, the building was undertaken and carried on till *twelve lacks* were expended; it was then judged needful to alter and enlarge the plan, by which alteration great part of the works already in forwardness became almost wholly useless, to the amount at least, as the Engineer says, of three compleat lacks, besides the additional expence occasioned by the alterations; and the completion of the whole, it was then computed. would, over and above the twelve lacks expended, amount to seventeen lacks more. Those seventeen lacks we find however reduced to about 10 lacks in the new calculation made by Captain Watson, and therefore it appears we may now expect the whole to be completed for about twenty-two lacks of rupees.

68. It is very observable that in the first design of the cantonments at Burrumpore it was intended to accomodate the sepoys as well as the European troops; but proceedings having been carried on in order thereto for a year or more, you then determined not to have any barracks for sepoys. By that resolution, the rafters which had been framed for those works, the foundations which were compleatly sunk and some of which were finished with brick work to the level of the ground, were also rendered useless. It seems very strange to us, but it is nevertheless true that no calculated estimate of any of the works appears to have been made by any person whatever till those by Lieutenant Mestayer in 1768, and by Captain Watson, who was sent to enquire into the state of the cantonments after so immense an expence had been incurred and to so little purpose.

69. Notwithstanding there might not be the same necessity for seapoys to be accomodated in order to attach them to our interest as well as the Europeans, it will scarcely be credited that our servants should drop that part of the intended work, and yet venture to increase the given expences to the immoderate degree they have done, thus sporting with the property of the Company to the additional amount of near twenty lacks of rupees as has been the case, and yet leave out so very considerable a part of the whole, as the accomodation of the sepoys must have been, had that plan been persevered in.

... 70. We observe with astonishment that on the first outset of the building no less than fifteen sets of unnecessary subalterns' apartments were laid out and carried on till Captain Watson reported them in that light to the Council at Cossimbuzar. They were then by him desired to be discontinued; but on account of an increase of the military establishment, you have judged

those apartments necessary, and ordered that they should be completed. However this may now be justifiable in you, still it leaves those persons wholly inexcusable who permitted such superfluous apartments at first to be begun when there was not the least probability of their being wanted. Had the expence incurred by building those supernumerary officers' apartments been frugally applied towards providing comfortable shelter for the poor sepoys, less apology would have been necessary for venturing to exceed the sum so expressly fixed by Lord Clive and Council, not to be on any account exceeded in erecting the cantonments at Burrumpore. We hope your future watchfulness and frugality in finishing the said works will compensate, as far as may be, for that remissness (for such we must term it) which has suffered past enormities to grow to such incredible extent and remain so long undetected.

71. We are dissatisfied with the conduct of Colonel Martin,¹³ whose report, being untrue, did certainly, in the first instance, mislead the Council at Cossimbuzar; and we believe your sentiments, communicated to Colonel Martin, on his behaviour in that transaction to be just; and that had he not resigned his commission it would undoubtedly have been your duty to have dismissed him our service.

72. In regard to Mr. George Williamson, his unfaithfulness admits not the least excuse, and the abuses by him practised in his contract for timbers render him utterly unworthy to be any longer entertained in our service, from which we hereby direct that he be dismissed. We approve your having taken security for the deficient timbers; and also direct that he be not permitted to leave India until he shall have fully paid whatever may be due from him to the Company, or given to you such further security for the same as shall be to your entire satisfaction.

73. The overcharges of Mr. Forbes at Burrampore and his extortions and oppressions at Beaulah have been so very extraordinary that we much approve your having dismissed him our service. His carriage during the enquiry made into his conduct, and his burning his papers previous thereto, evidenced such signs of guilt as could not fail placing him in the most disadvantageous light. The issue has proved him deserving every mark of our displeasure. We direct, therefore, that the suit instituted against Mr. Forbes in the Mayor's Court at Calcutta be vigorously prosecuted, and that no relaxation or abatement whatever be made of all such sums of money and costs of suit as may be decreed by the said Court to be due from Mr. Forbes, either to the Company or to the *pykars*, in consequence of his overcharges and abuses at Burrumpore, or his undue exactions and great oppression of the said *pykars* at Beaulah. And as you inform us you have taken ample security that Mr. Forbes do not leave India until the suit be decided, or that he will, should he depart from India before that time, leave sufficient value to answer our just demands, in case he may be cast, we direct that on no account whatever you suffer the said security to be discharged until our aforesaid orders relative to Mr. Forbes shall have been fully carried into execution, and all the money which may be legally obtained by such prosecution be actually paid by Mr. Forbes or his said securities.

74. Lieutenant Mestayer has been so grossly deficient in superintending the works at Burrumpore, and so unfaithful in his report relative to the timbers

bought of Mr. Williamson, that for those instances of his misconduct we should deem him worthy of dismissal. But as we observe also that his obstinacy in having refused to give information on oath of such frauds as might be within his knowledge was a further aggravation of such his misconduct, we can on no account permit his stay in our service. We therefore direct that he be dismissed, and that his bond given for the amount of the share he had in the *dustores* be paid, or proper security taken for payment thereof before he be permitted to leave India.

75. On your Consultations of the 23rd February 1769 we observe proposals from several persons for supplying your Committee of Works with such timbers and planks as might be requisite for your fortifications, and we must here express our approbation of your conduct in taking time to obtain the fullest information in a matter of so much importance. But sensible as we are that it would be in vain for us to offer any opinion on a point which must have been long since determined, (even had we sufficient lights to direct our judgement), yet we cannot help expressing our astonishment at the great difference which appears in the amount of the several proposals tendered to your Committee, some of which are near double, one almost trebles, the terms of the lowest offer.

76. As no reasons appear to us for this extraordinary difference we can only judge of it from the face of the several proposals, and we therefore see with concern to what attacks the Company's property is exposed from the insatiable thirst of gain which some would not scruple to gratify. Our security however rests on your judgement and integrity, which we hope and trust to find answerable to the confidence we repose in your administration of our affairs.

77. Shell Pattison having been employed several years as carpenter at your Presidency and came home for the recovery of his health, which being re-established, returns to his duty, having given security to prevent his becoming chargeable in the East Indies.

78. Mr. John Worship who was instructed in the art of manufacturing gunpowder by the late Mr. Watson has been represented to us as well qualified to succeed him as Superintendant of your Powder Works. We therefore recommend that he be employed by the Committee of Works in that branch and that you encourage him in such manner as he shall be found to deserve.

Sixthly and seventhly, of covenant and military servants and their accounts

79. Our President Mr. Verelst having acquainted us that his ill state of health would prevent his staying longer in India than next season, and Mr. Cartier, whom we nominated to succeed him in the Government, having requested we would appoint him a successor, we therefore hereby order and direct that Richard Becher Esqr. do succeed to the chair upon the coming away or decease of Messrs. Verelst and Cartier.

80. Upon considering the case of Mr. Samuel Middleton who was with others of your Council dismissed for receiving presents from the Indian princes in 1764, and it appearing that circumstance happened before his knowledge of the covenants or the orders against that practice, we have resolved

to readmit him into the Company's service and stationed him in the Council next below Mr. James Alexander.

81. As Mr. Francis Fowke's ill state of health prevents his proceeding to his station as a writer to your Presidency, we have permitted him to remain in England till next season without prejudice to his rank.

82. Mr. Edward Eyre Burges appointed a writer for your settlement being at present in Bengal, we have sent his covenants on the *Morse*, which are to be properly executed and returned.

83. In your letter of the 13th September you advise that you had dismissed Mr. Edward Fenwicke for giving to Mr. Bolts copy of a minute delivered in by Colonel Smith; and in your advices of the 28th March following, you write that you had since been induced from a representation of his situation and circumstances to permit of his remaining in India till our pleasure was known. And, as such acts of infidelity require examples should be made of the guilty we approve of your proceedings; but in consideration of his youth and your representation of his case, we have agreed to readmit him into the service, to rank next below James English Keighley, and you are to call him before the Board and reprimand him for his late imprudent conduct.

84. We have appointed the Reverend Mr. James Burn, who proceeds on the *Lord Mansfield*, to be one of our chaplains at your Presidency with the same salary and allowances as were assigned to the Reverend Mr. Pennington by our letter of the 11th November 1768.

85. We have considered the 98th paragraph of your General Letter of the 2d February 1769 requesting our permission for Mr. Sykes's acceptance of a present¹⁴ from the Nabob; and as it is said the value is not very considerable but was given to him as a testimony of esteem for his upright conduct and services during the time he was Resident at the Durbar, we permit him to retain it, but will not have this permission made a precedent, as we have resolved by our letter to your Select Committee of this date to put a stop both to the receiving as well as giving of presents except where eastern customs shall have made them expedient, when you are to confine your gifts within the bounds already directed.

86. The attorney to the Right Honorable Lord Clive presented two certificates for acceptance amounting to C.Rs. 164829-3-6 and requested we would pay them at the rate of 2s 2½d the current rupee and 365 days sight; but as our orders of the 16th March 1768 settled the rate of exchange at two shillings the current rupee, we refused to comply with his request, whereupon the certificates have been returned. We must here remark that you have acted very improperly and without our authority in granting those certificates as His Lordship was entitled to bills at the beforementioned rate, which if his attorneys had refused you should not have granted certificates for the amount, which we apprehend will bring an expence of interest upon the Company.

87. Mr. Francis Faugoin sent on the *Lord Camden* in 1766 a chest of silver containing 184 oz. 8 dwt. consigned to his son, a writer at your Presidency, who died before that ship's arrival; and although the silver was landed yet Mr. Faugoin's attorney hath not been able to procure the least intelligence concerning it. We therefore direct that you make a strict enquiry who received

it from the ship and to whom it was afterwards delivered that we may give to Mr. Faugoin the satisfaction he desires.

88. The complaints of Mr. William Bolts¹⁵ to us, his appeals to the public against the President and Council of Calcutta, and also the Select Committee there, are of too serious and interesting a nature not to deserve our particular attention and consideration.

89. We have ordered a full state of his case and every material circumstance attending it, collected from the different accounts and papers we have been furnished with (except what regarded his agents the Armenian merchants who are now in London and of whom we shall hereafter make mention), to be laid before the most eminent council in this country as well as the Company's Standing Counsel; and we shall now communicate to you the substance of their concurrent opinions upon different points respecting this affair, as well as our directions for the future regulation of your conduct in matters of the like nature.

90. By an Act of Parliament 9th George the First a covenanted servant of the Company who has been dismissed or has resigned may have notice given him to quit India, in case he is not otherwise lawfully authorized to continue there. And if such person shall refuse to depart from the East Indies after reasonable time allowed (twelve months in ordinary cases seem very sufficient) for settling his accounts and calling in his effects, he will be liable to be seized and brought to England, and prosecuted as an offender according to the provisions of that statute; but this power ought to be very tenderly exercised in all cases, and only for the sake of public good, where the privileges and commerce of the Company are invaded by such offenders, their regulations violated and their European or Indian enemies abetted and supported. In the present case, the President and Council appear from the papers to have had just grounds of dissatisfaction with Mr. Bolts, but they have given him considerable advantages against themselves in the course of their proceedings. First, the appointment of him to the office of Alderman after the letter of suspension in August 1766 amounts in law to a license to remain in India (though not to trade there), the very nature of his duty and office under the Charter¹⁶ for establishing courts of justice in Bengal requiring his acceptance of the office and his attendance under penalties. The consequence of this is that every notice to depart subsequent to his nomination as an Alderman till after a legal removal from that office may be considered as void in law, being given to a person not found or being in the East Indies without license but (as the abovementioned statute 9th George the First expresses it) lawfully authorized thereunto. The office of Alderman continues for life, and can be vacated only by voluntary departure or by amotion for reasonable cause in the judicial manner required by the Charter. Therefore, an Alderman is less dependent on the discretionary powers of the President and Council than a free merchant whose license is expired, or a mere servant who is dismissed or has resigned. It is not improbable that Mr. Bolts resigned the service of the Company in November 1766 in order to avail himself of the benefit of this distinction. Secondly, it is extremely doubtful whether Mr. Bolts has been duly and legally removed from his office of Alderman. As to the offence charged upon him in endeavoring to secrete and suppress, or render ineffectual, his indentures with the Company for the sake of defeating any action for breach of his covenants, it

seems clear that by reason of the relation which the different branches of the Company's service bear to each other and to the whole of their constitution, a misbehavior or misdemeanor so described might be the foundation of a complaint against him in his corporate capacity, and if fully charged and proved be a reasonable cause of motion; but it appears that no steps were taken for that purpose from November 1766 when he resigned till long after the notices to depart and the peremptory order of May 4th, 1768, that he should be sent to Europe by the first ship dispatched that season. The information against him was not exhibited till the end of August 1768, within less than a month of his seizure, not so much by way of original complaint seemingly as by way of recrimination to retaliate for his presentment to the Grand Jury, and his several protests, and prosecution of Baber and Boughton, the Clerk of the Peace and Secretary of the Select Committee. The matter of the information ought also to be considered. It suggests merely an accusation for signing the new covenants not with his own hand but by his writer, which Mr. Bolts will be advised by his counsel was equally binding in law with his own signature, and they will excuse it by saying that no man of common sense could be absurd enough to think otherwise, and that his inducement to it might be an idle but innocent one, to evade a rash oath which he had sworn that he would never sign them. Baber's evidence indeed goes materially further than the information, and charges him with a different offence, though not put in issue, *vizt.* with endeavoring artfully to procure a redelivery of the deed into his own custody with some bad design (not explained by the witness and therefore it is impossible to say what the offence is) under colour of re-executing it. Besides this, the summons is defective in not specially requiring Mr. Bolts to shew cause why he should not be removed (according to the special authority given by the Charter) from the office of Alderman on account of his offence, whereas neither the summons nor information takes any notice of his removal or what was intended by them; and the sentence pronounced against him upon the 5th September 1768 only declares him disqualified, but is no formal or regular judgement of amotion or removal.

91. Some of those objections might probably be held too strict in an action for damages brought by Mr. Bolts against the President or Council; but if the amotion should be deemed valid in a court of law in England, still it seems necessary to have given a new notice for his departure out of India after such removal from his office of Alderman, and that the time which intervened between the day of the sentence and the day of seizing his person, that is between the 5th and 23d September, was by much too short. On the other hand it is true that the President and Council appear to have acted without any ill intention towards the Company, but not with that coolness and circumspection we could have wished.

92. As to Mr. Bolts's complaints that the witness were not permitted to be examined in support of his petition or presentment to the Grand Jury on the 27th May 1768, there is no doubt but that the offer made by the court to adjourn to another day in order that the witnesses might be regularly summoned or served with subpoenas was consistent with justice and the rules of proceeding. Neither the prosecutor nor the Grand Jury were entitled to the aid of the court, upon the sudden, for the purpose of compelling witnesses.

in the manner it was asked ; but if the witnesses had been duly served with subpoenas to appear, in that case, any objections to the examination of them arising from the duty of their offices and obligation to secrecy must have been made by the witnesses themselves at the time of their examination and proposed to the court for their judgement.

93. We are clearly of opinion upon the whole that the proceedings against Mr. Bolts have not been sufficiently regular and cautious ; and that the event of an action for false imprisonment (if any shall be brought hereafter) against the President or any of the Council will depend much on the impression which the various circumstances of the case may make upon a jury. If Mr. Bolts shall appear to the court and jury to have been well removed from his office of Alderman, and to have acted with insolence towards his superiors and in breach of his duty to the Company, he will fail in his action ; but in case his amotion from his corporate office shall be held illegal, it is probable that he will recover considerable damages as a person seized and sent home without warrant from the statute, and consequently contrary to law.

94. It is indeed matter of astonishment to us that Mr. Bolts, who was actually under a conditional suspension in August 1766, should during that period be elected into the office of Alderman by the President and Council, who only could chuse him, which office, though it confers on him no authority or license to trade after actual resignation or dismission, yet certainly it impowers him to reside in India, and obliges him to perform the duty of his office for life, unless he should be guilty of some offence amounting to a just cause of dismission or amotion from that office according to the charter of justice.

95. The Select Committee most clearly are not impowered to act in a judicial capacity ; they can administer no oath, nor compel persons or partys to appear before them either to give evidence or to answer accusations or charges against them, nor can they make, decree, or pronounce legal judgements. In matters very important and interesting to the Company, they do well to enquire into and investigate them to the bottom ; but this must be done upon voluntary information and evidence, and party's accused should have reasonable notice and time given to justify themselves if they can, whether they chuse to appear or not ; if upon good evidence, which when taken *viva voce*, the witnesses must be sworn before a magistrate capable of administ[er]ing an oath, who should likewise be present at the examination and discussion of the matter ; or if taken in writing, such depositions should be in like manner duly sworn before a Magistrate that the facts and charges are properly made out and supported. In case the matter should be an object of civil jurisdiction, there is a court always open for hearing and determining the same ; if on the other hand it should be a ground for criminal prosecution, there is a court of justice legally established before which such offences should be brought and tryed. If the charges so proved should not be proper subjects of civil or criminal jurisdiction, but rather of a political nature tending to affect the Company's rights and interests, or to disturb the Government or repose of the country, we think that although the Select Committee may have power to dismiss from the Company's service, suspend, or censure the guilty partys, yet it may be more prudent to let such dismissions, suspensions,

or censures proceed from the President and Council in that public capacity, and as their act. There may be times and circumstances when this may be impolitic or impracticable, and therefore what is now suggested is more properly matter of advice and recommendation than of absolute direction, as we are sensible no general rule or order can be established.

96. The creditors of Mr. William Bolts have presented a request to us agreeable to the enclosed copy, desiring we would send directions to our several settlements to give every necessary and proper assistance to his attornies or agents for securing, collecting, and remitting to England his outstanding concerns. It is therefore our positive direction that you comply with their request accordingly.

97. The relations of Mr. Samuel Mesman, deceased, late in our military service at your Presidency, have represented that his executor Mr. John Bryer hath not accounted to them for the amount of his effects. We therefore direct that you call upon the executor to close his accounts and remit the balance to Europe.

98. Cogee Gregore Cojamaul and Cojee Johannes Padre Rafael, Armenian merchants, have presented a memorial¹⁷ to us, complaining that they had been seized, imprisoned, and sent down from Sujah Dowla and Bulwant Sing's countries, where they resided with the consent of those princes, to Patna and Moorshedabad, and that they continued under confinement a long while and suffered other hardships and indignities to the great detriment of their affairs; and notwithstanding they several times applied to your President to know the reasons for such ill treatment that they might justify themselves, yet they could never learn the cause, or procure any redress, and therefore have been obliged to come to England in order to seek that justice they were denied in Bengal and requesting we would make good their losses or order home President Verelst and such other servants as shall appear to have been the acting persons in those oppressions. We enclose copy of their memorial and expect a faithful relation of the whole affair with your motives that we may do them justice for any injuries it shall appear they have sustained; though we hope the allegations in their memorial are not well founded, you should have endeavored to have accomodated this affair in Bengal, as their appearance here in a clamorous manner may prove prejudicial to our affairs and is very displeasing.

99. We have permitted Mr. John Brown to proceed to and remain in Bengal two years to recover the effects of his late brother Mr. Robert Brown, a factor at your Presidency.

100. We acquainted you in our letter of the 7th December last of our intention to send by the ships of this season about 2,000 recruits for the service of our three Presidencies. We now acquaint you that 600 of them are designed to be sent to your Presidency, 700 for Fort St. George, and 700 for Bombay; and we have ordered our President and Council at Fort St. George that if they shall have more than will compleat their establishment, they do send the surplus to Bengal or Bombay as they shall see occasion, giving the preference to your Presidency.

101. Captain John Green, who distinguished himself much to our satisfaction when at your Presidency by the proper arrangement of your military stores, having re-established his health returns to India in the station of

Major of Artillery upon your establishment to rank next below Lieutenant Colonel Winwood, and we have also appointed him Inspector of Military Stores at our several Presidencies. He accordingly proceeds first to Fort St. George to inspect and arrange their military stores, and when he has completed that business, he is then to proceed to Bombay for the same purpose, for which services he is to be paid the salary of £400 per annum as Inspector of Military Stores during his continuance at Fort St. George or Bombay and such reasonable charges as he shall be put to in going from one Presidency to another. He is also to enjoy the pay and allowances of Major of Artillery upon your establishment from the time of his arrival at Fort St. George, which is to be remitted to him or paid in Bengal as he shall advise. When he has completed his business at Fort St. George and Bombay he is to repair to your Presidency, when you are to avail yourselves of Major Green's services by inspecting and arranging your military and artillery stores in such manner as to render them the most serviceable and prevent the heavy charges which have been incurred in the condemnation of stores as unserviceable. He is also to be present at all proofs of ordnance that we may not again suffer by the ignorance of those who have attended that duty, and to resume his post of Major of Artillery agreeable to his rank; but it is our intention that the £400 per annum allowed him for his services at Fort St. George and Bombay is to cease upon his arrival at Bengal, where he is to have no other emolument but what arises from his being Major of Artillery on your establishment.

102. Some favorable circumstances appearing in the case of Captain John Stainforth who was cashiered by a court martial for uttering words when inflamed with liquor tending to threaten the life of Lord Clive, and having expressed the utmost horror and detestation of that act, and having also obtained His Lordship's forgiveness, we have been induced to restore Captain Stainforth to the rank he held before he was cashiered, which was next below Captain Samuel Hannay.

103. We have also permitted Captain James Skinner, who came home for the recovery of his health, to return to his duty without prejudice to his rank.

104. In your letter of the 2d February 1769 you acquaint us that Captain Henry Watson, your Field Engineer, conceived himself in some degree injured by our appointing Messrs. Pearse and Lillyman to be Majors who are his juniors in His Majesty's service and the last was taken out of the same corps. Upon having recourse to our General Letter to you of the 1st June 1764 it appears Mr. Watson was appointed Field Engineer with the rank of Captain. As such he may rise in the infantry to the rank of colonel, whereas Mr. Pearse by being appointed Major of Artillery and Mr. Lillyman to the same rank in the Corps of Engineers cannot rise higher than lieutenant colonel. Therefore, we do not think he can be injured by their appointment, and it would be an injustice to those gentlemen who went out from hence under an express agreement for us to supersede them by granting Captain Watson's request, though from your recommendation of him we are willing that every favor should be granted him without prejudice to others, and he may depend upon our always bearing his merit in mind.

105. We approve of the regulations you have made for the payment of the gratuity to the military officers as advised in your letter per *Valentine*.

106. The friends of Mr. Samuel Seares, at present a Lieutenant Fireworker at Bombay, having represented that his father who is a Captain upon your establishment is very desirous his son should be removed to Bengal, we have therefore directed our President and Council of Bombay to send Mr. Seares accordingly, and we hereby appoint him a Lieutenant Fireworker at your Presidency to rank next below Mr. Robert Dawes.

107. The relations of Mr. John Griffiths who went out a cadet to Bombay last season having requested he may be removed to your Presidency, we have given orders to Bombay for his removal accordingly, and upon his arrival in Bengal he is to rank next below Mr. James Clements.

108. We have appointed Mr. James Fisher to be a Lieutenant Fireworker in your artillery to take his rank as such from the day of his arrival.

109. Thomas Waite who went out as a recruit in 1764 and by the last account was a private sentinel in Major Brereton's company, and as we learn from the representation of his friends that he is a person of family and fit to be advanced to a superior station, it is therefore our direction that in case he has behaved to your satisfaction you appoint him a cadet to rank next to the last of this season.

110. In a letter from your Select Committee of 21st December 1767 to Brigadier General Smith you write that "As the number of the sepoys attached to each brigade requires more than one field officer to command them, we are of opinion that another may be added to each brigade of sepoys. We have taken the matter into consideration, but before we come to a final resolution, we shall be glad to have your sentiments on this occasion." And, in answer thereto under the 12th January the General writes, "As to a second major of sepoys, when the necessity of the times obliged Lord Clive to promote so many extraordinary majors as afforded an appointment of two to each brigade of sepoys, the second major was little more than a cypher." Yet in direct opposition to this opinion you resolve to appoint them, and did accordingly appoint two lieutenant colonels without giving the least reason for it; and though we made a new regulation¹⁸ of your military here, which arrived in August 1768, yet this very extraordinary letter was sent to General Smith in November following, "Notwithstanding the Court of Directors have been pleased to make an additional number of field officers in proportion to the strength of their regiments, we are of opinion that the appointment of a lieutenant colonel and major to the sepoys of each brigade is as necessary as ever", and in your letters to the Company not the least notice is taken of these appointments. With these orders before you we are surprized to find how you could presume to act in direct contradiction to them and therefore highly disapprove of your conduct in taking upon you to increase our military establishment, which we will not admit of in future except upon very urgent occasions and then assign reasons, and point out the necessity of the measure in the clearest and most satisfactory manner for our confirmation. As the right of appointing officers on an increased establishment can only rest in us, the utmost therefore that you should have done was to have represented the necessity of such appointments and waited our orders; but as it would be hard upon the officers you appointed, who have behaved well in our service, and as you could not be acquainted with our having appointed field officers here,

we have determined to continue them ; but on any future vacancies, they are not to be filled up, our intention being that you should revert to the former establishment of one major to each brigade. And we hereby declare that if you should hereafter presume to alter the military establishment laid down from the Court of Directors by the appointment of any additional and extraordinary officers to such establishment as has been done in this instance, it is our fixed resolution to dismiss those persons from our service, be they whom they may, who shall take upon themselves to concur in such notorious disobedience of our orders.

111. As it is very essential that the natives should be kept as ignorant as possible both of the theory and practice of the artillery branch of the art of war, we esteem it a very pernicious practice to employ the people of the country in working the guns, and therefore direct that in future four European artillery men be constantly attached to the service of the two guns which belong to each battalion of sepoys, and that no native be trusted with any part of this important service, unless necessity should require it.

Select Cons.
29th Novr. 1768.

112. From the experience we have had of persons who have gone out as cadets and upon their arrival have declined entering into the military service but have entered into other employs either as surgeons, clerks, or in the seafaring way, we have determined to discourage all such practices in future not only for imposing upon us in order to get to India and putting us to a needless expence, but as it is a disappointment in regard to the supply of officers for our army. We therefore direct that whenever any cadets shall refuse or decline to continue in the military you send them to England and on no pretence whatever permit of their remaining in India.

113. Since our General Letter of the 17th March last in which (paragraph 64) we repeated our directions that written contracts should not be taken from the military officers in our service in India, the judges of the Court of King's Bench (in which court the actions brought against Lord Clive by Captains [*sic*] Parker and Lieutenant Vertue¹⁹ were heard and determined by special juries in favor of His Lordship) have unanimously determined after a solemn hearing that the military officers in India could not in all cases and whensoever they thought fit resign the Company's service, which determination leaves it open to our Presidents and Council to judge of the reasonableness of accepting or refusing such resignations, which must depend on the particular circumstances attending each case, for we hope no resignation will be desired from pique, resentment, or any other unjustifiable motive, and in general they should not be refused unless the necessity of the service or the exigency of our affairs makes them unjustifiable or unwarrantable.

114. Lieutenant William Vertue applied to the Court of King's Bench for a new tryal against Lord Clive which was refused, as the judges were very clearly of opinion that Lieutenant Vertue was an officer in the Company's service and in pay for the month of May, on the 8th of which month he threw up his commission ; that Colonel Smith had no right to accept that commission ; that Lieutenant Vertue had resigned during the time he by the acceptance of pay had bound himself to serve ; that he resigned without obtaining the proper leave or license so to do ; that his asking leave to resign

argued his own conviction, he could not resign without leave, but without regard to that, Lieutenant Vertue had not a right to resign under the circumstances and in the manner he did.

115. Having reason to be dissatisfied with the conduct of Monsieur St. Lubin, a French gentleman who we are informed enjoys the protection of our flag at Fort St. George, you are therefore in case he should come to Bengal, not to give him the least countenance, but oblige him to retire from your Presidency immediately.

116. Should Mr. Vernon Duffield²⁰, late a military officer upon your establishment, and who by our last advices, we are informed, was at Fort St. George, come to Bengal, it is our positive order that you send him to England by the first opportunity.

117. Mr. Burghall, late a Captain Lieutenant at your Presidency, having established his right to a proportion in the Nabob's donation to the army from Meer Jaffier in 1763 and being appointed Chief Engineer for Fort Marlbro', we have on his application lent him £500 as part of his share therein, and as a security hath given an assignment for the same, agreeable to a copy enclosed. You must therefore if the amount of the donation money is paid to the agents to [sic] apply to them for payment of that sum, and so in like manner if they shall have paid it to his attornies, and acquaint us with the result of your proceedings, which you must also advise to our President and Council at Fort Marlbro', that if it is not recoverable in Bengal they may stop the amount out of his growing pay according to an obligation he hath entered into for that purpose.

118. Captain John Donnellan,²¹ late a Captain of Foot in our service upon your establishment, was by a court martial held at Masuliptam in 1759 dismissed the service for a breach of the 12th Article of War, and the Captain thinking himself greatly injured by such sentence hath applied to us for a favorable declaration as to his conduct to enable him to return into the King's service or to be granted a copy of the proceedings of the court martial in order to obtain a revisal thereof. But as we could not find any mention either in our letters or records of this transaction, or that a copy of the proceedings are either in the Company's or Colonel Forde's possession who commanded at Masulipatam in 1759, we could not give him the relief he sought; and as the omission to send the proceedings of courts martial is attended with great inconvenience in case the parties appeal to our determination here, or are inclined to apply to any other tribunal for redress, we therefore direct that you procure if possible an authentic copy of the proceedings of Captain Donnellan's court martial properly attested; and in future you must not fail sending either the original proceedings or such authentic copies in duplicate as would be admitted as evidence in a court of justice as also of the warrant under which such courts are held, and all letters and papers which shall be produced in evidence in such courts martial.

119. We have long wished for and repeatedly recommended it to our several Presidencies to think upon a plan for the relief of wounded and disabled officers and private men and their widows whose indigence and merit may justly entitle them thereto; and as Major General Coote did before his departure for India pressingly represent to us the propriety and expediency of such

a plan, we cannot but earnestly recommend the same to your most serious consideration and that you will take the opinion of General Coote thereon. The present is especially the season when this subject should be considered, because as we have under our adjustment the mode of rendering the fund for the relief of disabled military in our service as extensively useful as possible, we think that the fund which may be formed by you and our other Presidents and Councils in India, either by stoppages from the pay of the military or any other mode you may think most eligible, added to the before-mentioned fund for the relief of disabled military in our service, may together form an aggregate, sufficient to relieve the distresses of those who may become from the events of providence the subjects of such compassion.

120. When you have thoroughly weighed and considered this matter you must advise us with the result of your sentiments hereupon for our making such rules and regulations as may best answer the general utility of the plan.

121. By the *Shrewsbury* you sent home Messrs. Allen Probyn and Starkie, cadets, and Robert Mitchell, gunner, as charter party passengers without taking the least notice of them in your General Letter. We direct that in future you do not omit to insert both in your General Letters and upon Consultations an account of all passengers you send home with your reasons for sending them.

122. Having already given our sentiments at large upon the subject of the former gold currency and the institution of another as mentioned in your General Letter of the 28th March 1769 and in the Consultations the 20th of the same month, being of great importance, we do not choose to give any particular directions thereon, as we shall refer this matter to the determination of the Commissioners. But, in general, we fear no regulation can accomodate the country with specie, as you say the inconvenience arises from the real want of specie in the province. At present we see no other objection to its being put in practice, except the smallness of the pieces and false coinage; you ought not to have made any pieces of gold of less value than two rupees, because the smallness of the piece will subject it to loss, and as the Company must receive them on account of the revenues, if there should be any false coinage, it would ultimately fall on the Company.

123. In your General Letter per *Valentine*, you advise us that "the bullocks that were provided by the Government for the use of our army having proved so extremely bad that you were obliged to dismiss them, the contractor represented the hardship he laboured under from this order, and in consideration of the bullocks having been disposed of, you absolved him from that part of his contract wherein he agrees to accept of and to defray the expence of maintaining those bullocks: an indulgence he has since assured you, he is very sensible of".

13 February²³
[September] 1768,
para. 128.

124. The management of contracts for bullocks, and the deficiencies of bullocks employed with our troops in India, have long claimed our attention. Abuses in those matters are grown to such an enormous height that we determine no longer to suffer any imposition whatever to prevail therein. We have investigated the matters referred to in the above quoted paragraph,

and must declare we believe it a vague and very partial representation of the case. In the first place it appears that Mr. Hunter, the contractor, stipulated with you that three hundred bullocks should be employed with each brigade, and, on this condition, he proposed to victual the troops in cantonments for half *batta*, because the advantage which might arise, from having this number of bullocks always in the service would in some measure compensate for the difference of *batta*, which he therefore gave up. It is highly absurd and very displeasing to us that this article of bullocks should be made responsible for losses or inconveniences suffered by the contractor in his other stipulations. If three hundred bullocks were at that time absolutely necessary for each brigade, which we much doubt, certainly it was your duty to contract for them on the lowest footing of expence for which good cattle might be provided and maintained, and not to establish a higher price than was absolutely necessary for a large number of bullocks, which might on any account enable the contractor to draw undue advantages from such contracts. Nor ought the deduction of quarter *batta* to have been put in consideration with a matter to which it had no reference. If three quarter *batta* was not necessary, it ought never to have been allowed. If it was necessary, it should have been continued; and the keeping up a stipulated number of bullocks, perhaps more than were really at the time needful for the service, ought not to have been made an argument for remitting one third of the *batta*.

125. You tell us Mr. Hunter has assured you that he is very sensible of the indulgence shewn him in absolving him from his contract. We believe he had an undoubted right to demand such absolution, and therefore see no reason why he should deem it a matter of so much favor. We find Mr. Hunter agreed to receive and pay for such bullocks as had been already purchased by the express orders of the Governor and Council. Neither the time when those bullocks were purchased, the price given for them, nor the length of the time they had been in our pay, appear on the records before us; but to our great surprize we find so little attention had been paid to this important branch of our service that of six hundred and ninety bullocks which had been purchased by express orders of the President and Council, only ninety-two were on a survey found fit for service, and therefore dismissed. Now the contractor certainly had no right to receive and pay for bullocks bought by your express orders, unless they were proper to be employed; and that they were not appears by their having been kept at our expence even three months after they had been rejected, and then sold only for 10 Rs. per pair, and some for less money. From three hundred twenty-one draught bullocks at Mongheer only thirty-nine were judged fit for service. Can it be supposed Mr. Hunter was culpable for the rejection of the other two hundred and eighty-two? Certainly he was not. Had the Government's bullocks been fit for service, no inconveniences had happened. You have not informed us who bought those bullocks; nor do we find any censure passed or notice taken of such flagrant breach of duty, for such it must be if we are charged the price of good bullocks for those unfit for service. The keeping of unserviceable bullocks is not only money thrown away, but the inconveniences attendant thereon such as we determine our service shall not be subject to on any account whatever.

126. At the same time therefore that we allow Mr. Hunter had a right to the indulgence (as you term it) shewn him in absolving him from a penalty

which in justice he ought not to pay, we must declare our utter displeasure on reviewing your own conduct in this affair.

127. The circumstance which you stile an indulgence to Mr Hunter, and of which indulgence in February per *Valentine*, you say, he has since assured you he is very sensible, we observe with no small degree of surprize that per *Shrewsbury* you plead the very same fact as a strong argument for rejecting better terms for a new contract than those of Mr Hunter which were intended to be offered you by Mr. Cobham. Because you then say you, and not Mr. Hunter, were guilty of a breach of contract, and that of this Mr. Hunter might have availed himself, and the penalty you in that case would have been obliged to pay would most probably be a considerably larger sum than what you could have saved in the difference of the present terms and those Mr. Cobham might offer. These contradictions greatly alarm us, and we declare ourselves astonished to find so little uniformity in your advices. It should seem you presume on our affording a very superficial attention to your records, or decency must have prevented you from suffering them to contain such glaring absurdities.

128. Mr. Cobham in his letter to you says, "Last year when the contract for furnishing and feeding bullocks and for victualling the army was put up to sale, I sent in proposals for it to this Honorable Board, but as there were others who proposed lower terms, mine were consequently rejected. I have since that time made that branch of business more particularly my study, and have it now in my power (should the like mode of publication take place this year) to offer terms more advantageous to the Honorable Board than such as would enable me to execute the business with as much justice to the Company and credit to myself as any of my predecessors in that employment."

129. Your minute on the above letter is vague and very unsatisfactory. You tell us, "The Board, having taken into consideration Colonel Smith's letter relative to the renewal of the contract and the applications of Messrs. Hunter and Cobham, are of opinion it should be continued to the former of these gentlemen from these considerations that the company have broken their contract with Mr. Hunter owing to the country government not having provided the number of bullocks they engaged, which he might avail himself of, and by that means the Company would sustain a loss that probably would not be compensated for by the difference of the present terms, and those that might be offered; and that it is but a piece of justice due to Mr. Hunter, since by the disappointment of the bullocks from the country government he has in fact not enjoyed the contract for more than six months."

130. But by examining the first article of the contract as inserted in Mr. Hunter's letter, we observe it runs in these very different terms. It is there specified that the bullocks "provided by the Honorable President and Council are constantly to be maintained in the service of the Honorable Company;" but the person who had been entrusted with that business had provided such cattle as were unfit for service.

131. By your very extraordinary resolution, fresh proposals were not suffered to be tendered, nor the promised advantages which the Company might have obtained thereby permitted to transpire; but you content yourselves with saying that in all probability they would not compensate the

penalty which Mr. Hunter might recover from your breach of contract, from which contract you had told us per *Valentine* Mr. Hunter was very thankful that you had absolved him.

132. It does not appear that Mr. Hunter has a less right to claim the penalty by you incurred than he had before you renewed the contract. We do not find that he has relinquished such right or given up his claim. Therefore, the same reasons do still subsist and the same arguments hold good for continuing the contract to him next year, and every succeeding year, till he shall have cancelled the obligation you are under to him. Certainly you must conceive very lightly of us, should we suffer such proceedings by our servants to be passed over with impunity.

133. We have the satisfaction, however, to find that one^a member of the Council has better understood his duty than to concur in your said proceedings. His dissent as recorded on your Consultations is (a) Mr. Rumbold. conceived in terms, and contains such reasons for dissenting from your said resolution, which do him honour, are satisfactory to us, and which ought to have had much more weight with you than they seem to have had. We greatly approve his conduct in this respect, and do declare that whenever we find any of our servants act in the manner you have done, we shall distinguish by proper marks of our favor those who may have the prudence to conduct themselves as Mr. Rumbold²³ on this occasion has done.

134. It is our express orders and we hereby positively direct that you do not fail every year to advertise for and receive such proposals as may be offered for supplying the troops with provisions and for furnishing draught and carriage bullocks to be employed with our army, and that you do in all cases accept those proposals which may appear the most reasonable in point of charge. And you are also to take care that in all your advertisements a sufficient time be allowed before the expiration of the contract which may then subsist, or the time which you may limit for receiving proposals, for such persons who may become candidates for the contractorship to prepare their proposals for such contract.

135. And in order to prevent abuses in future we direct that the Commanding Officer of our troops at your Presidency do require from every subordinate officer in the several departments every fourteen days or oftener a report of the number, size, and condition of the draught and carriages bullocks furnished for and employed with the army, and that he do report the same to the President and Council monthly, or oftener, as occasion may require. And if the bullocks should at any time be deficient, he shall fully explain to what cause such deficiencies may be justly attributed whether to want of size, neglect of feeding, mismanagement, or other abuse, or to unavoidable casualties, or other circumstances such as length of time in service, the nature of such service, or otherwise; and he is also to inform himself, and signify to our President and Council at the same time, in all cases, according to the best of his judgment, how defects of every kind relative to the bullocks in the service may be remedied.

136. And as in time of war it may happen that officers in the army may by plunder or otherwise become possessed of bullocks, and as the contractor cannot be supposed to give altogether the full price which is allowed by the

Company and such officers may not be content with less, and further as the true state and condition of bullocks, were they permitted to remain the property of officers in the army, might not in case of deficiency be by them represented in a proper light, we think it for the good of our service, and do hereby direct that the contractor do not on any pretence whatever hire or employ any bullocks belonging to any of the Company's servants, civil or military, or in which they may be in anywise interested ; but that all the cattle employed in our service be fairly and openly purchased or hired from such of the inhabitants who make it their business and are best qualified to provide such bullocks. And if this business should at any time cease to be managed by contract, then our pleasure is, and we hereby direct, that our Commissary General do take care to conform strictly to these our instructions in all matters relative to bullocks, hired or purchased to be employed with our troops, as he would avoid our severest censure. And we further direct that every report of the Commanding Officer (in which report shall be also inserted at length the reports of all the subordinate officers by him received) be regularly entered monthly on your Consultations for our information.

137. Laurence Orman, whose *budgrow* was pressed by Sir Robert Fletcher²⁴ at Joanpoor to transport troops to Mongheer in 1765, has presented to us a memorial making the like demand which he did to you in 1766, requesting we would consider his case and order him satisfaction for the damages he sustained. But as it appears you agreed to discharge the demand on condition he would swear to the truth of it, which he has hitherto not complied with, we are inclined to believe the demand is extravagant, and inclose for your information copy of Mr. Orman's memorial that you may give us all the information possible on this affair with your opinion what compensation is justly due to the memorialist for those damages, and let us know whether the other claimants Daniel le Doux and Gerret Du Freize mentioned in your Consultations of 18th December 1766 have been paid their demand.

138. We have upon the request of the legal representatives of Mr. Richard Wilder deceased, late agent for regulating the raw silk investment at your Presidency, paid £291-17-5, the amount of his annuity from the 25th December 1760 to the 17th September 1761 the time of his death ; if you should have paid anything since on that account you must acquaint us thereof that we may demand the same of his relations here.

139. It is with great satisfaction we find the orders we gave in our letter of 20th November 1767 for your sending us a state of your revenues and charges from the commencement of the *Dewanny* have been executed in so full and particular a manner as we see in the general account now received by the *Talbot*. And we must here express the pleasure we have in observing the attention of your Sub-Accountant Mr. Darell to those orders, and the copiousness and perspicuity with which he has stated this account. Indeed, from the examination we have been able to make since the late arrival of the *Talbot*, it appears adapted to answer the ends we desired from it ; and as the continuation of this account will now be easily effected, we desire and expect to receive it by the first and last ship of each season, closed as near as possible to the time of their departure. We are sorry, however, that your general account now received is extended only to the end of July 1768, but we conclude that

to have been a period the latest possible for forming it from such various accounts as were necessary to be collected for that purpose.

140. As in a plan of so diffusive a nature it was to be expected that some articles might admit of improvement or stand in need of explanation, we shall here point out a few instances of this kind. Under the head of your civil charges we observe your Military Storekeeper's disbursements to a great amount. These, we apprehend, should rather have been placed among your military charges, and as such they must stand in any abstract we may have to form of your general account, unless you satisfy us of the propriety of their present situation. We have also to remark that in the disbursements of the revenues of the Bahar province are included the remittances to Patna and Moorshedabad, by which means the charges incident to the collections do not distinctly appear. These remittances therefore should not have been carried to the total of disbursements, though we entirely approve of their being placed in columns apart as they very properly exhibit the manner in which the Bahar receipts have been applied.

141. These cursory remarks we have thought it proper to make in order that your subsequent states may be amended, or our objections be removed by the explanations you may give relative thereto.

142. From the advantages we suppose the inhabitants must receive from the lenity of our Government and from the experience which our servants must daily acquire as to the real state of the provinces and the extent of the revenues arising from the *Dewanny* of Bengal and Bahar, we had the greatest reason to expect a very considerable augmentation therein. It is therefore with equal surprise and concern we find those revenues fall short of your first statements of them, and in particular that the revenue of Dinagapore should be found over-rated to the amount of one lack of rupees, when the detection of frauds committed in former collections had given us room to hope that district would have afforded a large encrease.

143. The representation in Mr. Rumbold's letter to you on Consultation 9th February 1768 respecting the revenues of *soubah* Bahar shews us the danger we are in of having those revenues considerably reduced for the year 1768; but as the causes and necessity of these several reductions proceeds from facts and circumstances of which we cannot be sufficiently informed, this important object will necessarily fall under the cognizance of our Commissioners from whose ability for such an investigation joined with the local means of making every requisite enquiry, we persuade ourselves that the revenues of these provinces will not only be greatly extended but be fixt with the utmost stability the nature of them will admit.

144. As the whole state of your revenues will come under the observation of our Commissioners, we shall say the less on the little improvement which appears in the Midnapore and Chittagong collections, which by no means answer the expectations we formed on what our long possession of them might produce.

145. By your advices this year received we have the satisfaction to find an encrease of two lacks on the *malguzarry* of Burdwan province; but though we must acquiesce in the reasons offered by the Rajah to lessen your demand

of 38 lacks, yet we hope you will duly attend to his future ability and regulate thereby the amount to be raised on this province.

146. We observe also with pleasure that the measures you have pursued in respect to the Calcutta lands have produced a considerable addition to the former revenues of these districts and that there is a prospect of a progressive improvement therein.

147. In a letter to your Board from Mr. Becher, your late Collector General, entered on your Consultations 27th March 1769, we find some regulations and remarks so worthy of your attention that we are concerned the same were not laid before you time enough for you to have taken the same into consideration, whereby we might have received your sentiments on the several points referred to you therein.

148. We are also greatly disappointed in not receiving the books of the Collector General's department; for though the abstracts which accompany Mr. Becher's letter supply us with many useful lights, we are still deprived of several particulars necessary for our information which from the method and perspicuity we observe in the beforementioned abstracts we expect to see on the collectors' books with the utmost precision. We have only here to remark that in the Abstract No. 22 the balance of Chittagong treasury 30th April 1768 was C.Rs. 10,427-12-6, but in No. 23 this balance is said to be C.Rs. 11,536-9. This we mention to you for your enquiry and correction.

149. We have received by the *Salisbury* an account of commission on the *dewanny* revenues of Bengal and Bahar and those under your Collector General from 1st September 1767 to 31st August 1768, and by the *Shrewsbury* a like account for the subsequent half year taken on average of the revenues of the former. The nett receipt being there stated in general articles would alone have rendered your account unsatisfactory to us as we expected to see the receipts of your several revenues distinctly specified. We therefore direct that, either separate or connected with your future accounts of commission, you send us a full and particular state of the receipts of the revenues of Moorshedabad and Bahar with those of the districts and provinces on which such commission is drawn, exhibiting at the same time the several charges and deductions to which the respective revenues are subject, the whole corresponding with the period of your statements.

150. And being now to consider the shares you have thought fit to allow in addition to those appointed by our orders of 20th November 1767, we see with astonishment such an infraction of those orders and such an abuse of our generosity as appears in the distribution made by our President and Council of any part of the surplus arising from the unappropriated shares of this commission, which surplus we considered as a fund which would have admitted of our extending to our principal servants at Bombay a share of that favor we had shewn to those of your Presidency, and we accordingly directed you to remit to them the amount of $1\frac{1}{2}$ lacks of current rupees.

151. But by your advices as well as your accounts of commission we find that, contrary to our orders respecting the distribution of this commission so fully and expressly set forth in our letter beforementioned, you have taken upon yourselves to dispose of the unappropriated shares in the following manner:

To the Chief of Patna and Superintendent of the Bahar Revenues	2½ shares
To the Chief of Cossimbuzar	1½ do.
To the Chief of Dacca	1½ do.
To the surgeons of the army and of your Presidency each	¾ „

152. As this distribution has been made in violation of our said orders, we hereby require and direct that such of you as were at that time members of our Council, and the representatives and attornies of such others as may be returned to England, do in your separate capacities forthwith pay into our treasury in Bengal the amount of the several sums paid by you as a share or shares of this commission to any person either as Superintendent of the Bahar Revenues, as Chief of either of the factories of Dacca, Patna, Cossimbuzar or Chittagong, as surgeon of the army or of your Presidency, or to any other person who may have received a share to which he was not entitled by our appointment; under which description we consider Mr. Charlton, who received a share as member of Council for nine months before his admission to a seat at that Board, the amount of which you must forthwith pay as here directed.

153. As to any bonds or other security which you may have taken for the repayment of such shares as might not be approved by us, it rests wholly with yourselves to take such measures as you may think fit for the recovery of the amount of any sums paid without our authority. For we hereby renounce and disclaim any act you may have done in opposition to our particular directions in respect to this commission. And from such breach of your duty, we hold you responsible for every undue payment.

154. We have considered the application made to your Board by Mr. John Lowe, who was stationed at Ganjam for the dispatch of the packets to and from Madras, and his representation of the losses he sustained by the irruption of Narraindoo.²⁵ But as the state of his losses which are computed at near 7,000 Rs. appears to include the sum of Rs. 4,100 for a debt due to him, we are enabled to judge how far that debt may be considered as a real and certain loss especially as Ganjam is now restored to the Company. And as we have no information respecting the particulars of the effects which amounted to the remaining sum, we must refer to your further examination the several circumstances contained in Mr. Lowe's address to you, in which you will be particularly attentive to the debt of 4,100 Rs. and whether the same be recoverable either in the whole or in part; and if upon the fullest enquiry you shall find that the facts he has represented shall entitle him to any compensation from us, we hereby permit you to make him a reasonable allowance for the losses he may have sustained in the Company's service.

155. As you inform us that a bond for C.Rs. 3,000 bought of Mr. Emmerson Tidey, and which Mr. William Berrie represents to have lost among his other effects, was standing on your books, and as in such case we think the papers you transmitted a sufficient evidence of Mr. Berrie's title thereto, especially as Mr. Emmerson Tidey has satisfied us that he has no demand in regard to the said bond, we hereby authorize and direct you to discharge the same, together with such interest as may be due thereon, taking care to have a proper security and indemnification against any demand which may hereafter be made on account of the said lost bond.

156. When you advised us that the charge of your surveyors²⁶ was extravagant, you attributed the same to the want of proper regulations, referring us to your Consultations for the plan whereby you intended to remove this inconvenience. On our adverting thereto we find your general opinion of the extravagance you purpose to prevent, but no particulars are there inserted for our information by which we are at a loss to account for your subsequent disposition.

157. This omission therefore (blamable in itself) leaves open to animadversion that part of your conduct which aims at a remedy of the first evil of extravagance by adopting a plan of larger expence than you had before thought necessary. But as you acquaint us that you concurred with Mr. Rennell's proposals from an opinion of his integrity, judgment, and frugality, we for the same reason shall acquiesce in the appointments you have made respecting this branch of business.

158. We approve of the adjustments which your late Sub-Accountant has made²⁷ of several heads on your general books which we had remarked to you; but though there are many others still open which we are desirous of having closed, we shall defer our orders relative thereto until we receive a full explanation of several credits remaining on your balance, such as account current Moradbaug, Muxadavad *batta*, bills of exchange unaccounted for, and William Watts on account of exchange. These, therefore, your Sub-Accountant will examine into and report his opinion of all such credits as can properly be closed, which when we receive we shall give our final orders respecting every head which appears to encumber your books without any utility; and for this purpose you will inform us if any part of the accounts of restitution for losses in the capture of Calcutta, 1756,²⁸ are open to any demands other than those of which we are already acquainted by the bill filed against the Company by the European sufferers.

159. We are surprized to find you have not been able to adjust the head of Benares factory, notwithstanding that factory has been so long withdrawn, This we are more impatient to have adjusted, as we apprehend the article of Sujah Dowla on account treaty money²⁹ must be connected with it, for on your General Books ending April 1768 he is credited for no more than current rupees 5,80,000 although you have long since informed us that the whole of the sum stipulated to be paid by him was fully discharged. We trust however that your Sub-Accountant will have collected such materials as shall have enabled him to adjust both these heads on your books of the last year.

160. At the same time that we approve of your continuing the old balance of Cossimbuzar until you should have received full insight into the nature of it, yet we must consider you as having been remiss in that you had not already obtained the utmost satisfaction in this point. If it shall appear that the large balance added to this factory be as you suppose the amount of it before the capture, we readily admit that from the Company's having received restitution for their losses, no more should be brought on those books than the value of the factory at the reinstating it, with such goods and effects as were afterwards recovered and such debts as were recoverable either in the whole or in part. The difference being the real loss of the factory may properly be carried to the general estimate of losses in the year 1756.

161. We cannot quit this subject without repeating our concern at the frequent representations we receive of the confusion or loss of material papers and accounts. Sensible as we are that the devastation in 1756 and the troubles since that time may have occasioned some loss or confusion in the state of your factory accounts, we have remonstrated with the less warmth on our not having duly received your subordinate books; but so long a time has now elapsed since we had a right to expect they were brought into order, that your not sending us a compleat series of them must be considered as a wilful neglect of our repeated orders, and this is now aggravated by your total silence on this head when we expected to have received the books of your subordinates for the several years they have been omitted. But as it is extremely irksome to us to animadvert on the conduct of our servants with any severity, we shall only apprise you that we expect our former orders in this respect to be fully complied with.

162. The obstructions which prevented you from sending the books of your Military Pay Master General were very displeasing to us. We are therefore concerned at the information you give us that these books were in little more forwardness than when you first informed us of the reasons for their not being transmitted. But as we find that your late Sub-Accountant Mr. Harwood has undertaken to bring them into order, we trust from his diligence and attention which have received your approval, and from that ability which he has shewn in keeping your General Books, that those of the Military Department have e'er this been freed from the confusion and error which has hitherto retarded the balance of them, and that the whole series of the Military Pay Master's books will be sent us by the ships of this season.

163. The Military Code which we directed, being also absolutely necessary for us, to be furnished with, we hope no delay or impediment will have prevented us from receiving it in the present year.

164. We have the satisfaction to find that in consequence of our orders, you have directed a sett of books to be opened by the Durbar Resident for the revenues collected at that place, to commence from May 1768. The plan proposed by you for keeping them promises us a clear and distinct view of those revenues. We therefore hope to receive the first sett with the books of your Presidency for the year 1768-9.

165. We have here still to complain that the orders we have so often and earnestly given you to send us the restitution accounts have not yet been complied with. And we are so little satisfied with your excuse for this omission that should we be longer disappointed in this respect we shall be constrained to attribute your delay to some other reason than that of the voluminous state of these accounts.

166. In our letter of 17th March 1769 we remarked on several charges introduced into your *Buxey's* accounts which we consider as not belonging to the general service, in particular, some parts of the President's bills which appeared to be of a private nature. The like we find also in your *Buxey's* charges for the year 1768; but as we expect to receive with your next dispatches your explanations and reasons why the same has been hitherto admitted, and to find all charges which are not solely for the Company's service entirely struck off, we shall forbear making any further observations thereon.

167. We have before expressed our displeasure at seeing very large sums expended by you in plate and other sumptuary articles of your dead stock, and we are now concerned to see a continuance and even an encrease of them, for in April 1768 we observe that upwards of Rs. 4,400 was paid for the purchase of pictures.

168. We are sorry we have occasion to enter on such particulars which may appear minute; but as your growing charges are likely to become an insupportable evil to us, we must here condemn all unnecessary expence and earnestly hope to see the future charges of your Presidency governed by a judicious and regular economy.

169. Although it might have been expedient for you to purchase a house to be employed as an hospital, we cannot pass unnoticed the price it appears you have given for one bought of Mr. Kiernander³⁰ amounting to A.Rs. 98,900, and this too when the same was so far from being compleat for the purpose that you advanced no less than A.Rs. 76,800, in part of your contract with Mr. Kiernander, for building a new hospital.

170. We cannot but see with astonishment the house of a private person valued at so high a rate, and more especially as your former purchases of this kind never but in one instance exceeded C.Rs. 20,000, and that the house you thought fit for the Nabob's residence was valued only at C.Rs. 17,280. We must therefore desire you to explain to us the nature and convenience of this purchase, the value of which so far exceeds any estimation we can form of a private building in Calcutta; and we positively forbid, at the peril of answering for the same in your private capacities, making any such unreasonable purchases in future without our orders first had and obtained.

171. From a remarkable account of a cure being effected in the disorder of the liver, communicated to us by a gentleman of rank in our military service at Bombay by the means of castor oil, which we are told in the East Indies is known by the name of *erindo* oil, we have taken the opinion of a physician of great eminence upon the case as stated, and we herewith send you for the information of the physical people at your settlement extracts of the letters upon the occasion, both from the physician and the gentleman who received the cure. And should you at any time be made acquainted with any extraordinary cases, and any new method of cure which has been attended with success, you will do well to send us a circumstantial detail of such cases properly attested to enable us for the public good to communicate such copy to the learned among the faculty here, and to take their advice and opinion thereupon.

Eighthly, concerning the Charter

172. We have laid the several paragraphs of your advices received last season relating to law matters before our Standing Council, and received his opinion thereon, a copy of which comes a number in the packet.

173. By the *Shrewsbury* we received your answer to Mr. Bolts's appeal to the King and Council for removing him from being an Alderman of the Mayor's Court, but you omitted to send the proceedings relating thereto properly authenticated under the seal of the Company so as to become evidence before the Lords of Council which you ought certainly to have done, and more

especially as they were granted to Mr. Bolts or his attorney, as set forth in his petition to His Majesty to which we have been obliged to have recourse. You must not fail sending by the first opportunity in duplicate all the proceedings respecting his removal under the seal of the Company and attested by the Clerk of Appeals; and in all cases for the future where you have any apprehension that appeals are intended you must forthwith send the proceedings properly authenticated under the seal of the Company to be made use of here for their defence.

174. You will observe that your answer to Mr. Bolts's petition of appeal lodged in India constitutes no part of the proceedings, for it was out of course and practice to make any answer to it, either by way of plea, demurrer or otherwise, nor is any part of the proceedings in the Mayor's Court relevant to this sentence against Mr. Bolts, which could only be brought before the Governor and Council. Therefore the transcript or copy you are to transmit is to end with your letter, giving notice of your judgment and his removal from the office of Alderman to the Mayor's Court.

175. In the *Shrewsbury's* packet we received a declaration of Mr. Thomas Kelsall, Chief at Dacca, on oath reciting a conversation that passed between him and Mr. Daniel Lankheet relative to a clandestine trade carried on at Dacca between Mr. Bolts and Mr. Vernet, the Dutch Governor at Chinsura, to a very great amount in prejudice to the Company's investment; but as this representation is not authenticated either by Mr. Lankheet's affidavit or any other evidence, we cannot make any use of it in justification for your sending Mr. Bolts to England in the manner you did; but we hope and expect that you have made a very strict enquiry into this affair, and punished such of our servants as have been found guilty of such notorious infidelity to their employers; and we desire you will not fail to transmit the whole of your proceedings in this respect to us authenticated in the clearest and fullest manner so as to be made use of as evidence in the courts of record here, if there should be a necessity so to do in order to obtain justice and satisfaction to the Company for this offence. Mr. Lankheet's information at large upon oath touching this transaction seems to be the most material evidence, and we hope you will be able to obtain it.

Supplement

176. In your letter of the 26th August 1767, you acquaint us that the *Calcutta* was appointed to carry seapoys to the Coast, but in that of the 14th September you say that after she was hove down, it appeared she had sprang her main mast, and would be obliged to be detained until the proper season for sending her to Bombay to be refitted, in consequence of which you were under the necessity of hiring the *Savage*, a country ship, at the rate of sixteen Arcot rupees for each sepoy embarked on board and the enormous demorage of five hundred Arcot rupees a day for all the time she should be detained at Vizagapatam above four days. We have upon settling the *Calcutta's* account examined very particularly into the above circumstances, and are of opinion you are highly blamable for not dismissing the ship from the Company's service so soon as you knew she was incapable of proceeding on her intended voyage, and which appears plainly to have been the occasion

of the very great expence you incurred by hiring a country ship to go in her stead, with the addition of the *Calcutta's* being on demorage without the least service. This is such a flagrant instance of your inattention as deserves our highest resentment, and cannot proceed from ignorance but rather from some interested views of which we are unacquainted. We do therefore expect your greatest care in future to avoid incurring expences by hiring country ships whilst you have ships of our own unemployed, and if any of them should be unfit, they must be turned out of the service till they are refitted in such manner as shall secure us from paying extraordinary demorage for detention ; otherwise you must expect our highest resentment.

177. You have also neglected to send an account of the damages our cargo sustained by this ship's running aground on her first arrival in your road, the particulars whereof you must transmit in duplicate by the returning ships.

178. The very favorable account you have transmitted of Mr. Maddison's abilities, his great progress in the knowledge of the Persian tongue, which we have more than once recommended should be studied by our servants, and his diligence and fidelity as Assistant at the Durbar is very agreeable to us and we shall bear his merit in mind ; but as it was our intention when we appointed him a factor that he should serve five years in that rank according to the general practice of the service, we cannot consistent therewith agree to our President's request for Mr. Maddison's serving only three years in that station.

179. Having taken into our most serious consideration the magnitude and importance of the management of our affairs depending on your civil establishment, and that the administration thereof may be conducted to the greatest advantage of the Company and the prosperity of all under their protection, we have fully instructed the Commissioners to carry the following resolutions into execution. That with the Governor and exclusive of the Military Commander the Council of Bengal shall consist of nine members and no more. That none of the Council be permitted to act as Chiefs of any of the subordinate factories, but shall all constantly reside at Calcutta, the Resident at the Durbar, if that office shall be filled by a Counsellor, and the Military Commander excepted. That no member of the Council shall have any employ annexed to that station, but that all offices be executed by the senior servants not members of the Board. And that the said Council be formed into proper committees that the controul, superintendency and direction of the Company's affairs at the Presidency and subordinates may be faithfully and impartially transacted to their greatest benefit and advantage. You must therefore comply with such instructions and directions as they shall think proper to give relating thereto until you shall receive our orders thereon.

180. Besides the foregoing regulations, it is our pleasure that our Governor of Bengal, Commander in Chief for the time being, and three senior members of our Council be a Select Committee, with power to make regulations respecting peace and war, and negotiate with the country powers but not finally to conclude any treaty, until the terms and conditions of such treaty shall have been first approved by our Governor and Council. The Governor singly shall correspond with the country powers ; but all letters, before they shall be by him sent, must be communicated to the other members of the

Select Committee and receive their approbation, and also all letters whatever, which may be received by the Governor in answer to or in the course of his correspondence, shall likewise be laid before the said Select Committee for their information and consideration, and all their proceedings and correspondence must be regularly entered on their Consultations and sent home in duplicate.

181. And you are also to observe that we do not mean by the foregoing arrangement to disannul the directions we have already given in case of an attack of any of our settlements in Bengal contained in the 20th paragraph of the General Letter of the Court of Directors of the 12th May 1758, and the Committee for Defence in case of attacks is to be composed of the Governor, Commander in Chief, and Chief Engineer for the time being.

182. From the arrangement we have now formed in regard to the fixed residence of the Council at Calcutta and from the alterations we have made to our military establishment respecting field officers, it is become necessary for us to make a new distribution of the commission of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on your nett territorial revenues, which by our letter of the 20th November 1767 we permitted you to draw and appropriate as therein expressed. We therefore do hereby order and direct that from the receipt hereof one-eighteenth part be first drawn from the amount of the commission of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on your said nett territorial revenues and paid as a separate share to Major General Coote, Commander in Chief of all the Company's forces in the East Indies, and that the sum which shall remain after such deduction be divided into one hundred parts or shares, which shares are to be distributed in the manner following, *vizt.*,

To the Governor	31 shares.
Second of Council	$4\frac{1}{2}$.
Brigadier General Sir Robert Barker	$5\frac{1}{2}$.
Seven members of Council each	2.
The Colonels	5 to be divided amongst them in equal proportions.
Lieutenant Colonels	$8\frac{1}{2}$ to be divided equally amongst them.
Majors	$5\frac{1}{4}$ to be equally divided amongst them.

But for your more particular information we transmit you copy of the distribution as calculated here.

183. And you are to take notice that the whole of the unappropriated shares, together with what may be added thereto by the decease or resignation of Major General Coote, is to be applied as directed in the 117th paragraph of our General Letter of the 20th November 1767.

184. Brigadier General Richard Smith having signified his intention of resigning his post of Commander in Chief of our forces under your Presidency as soon as your affairs will permit, we do therefore, as a proof of our good opinion of the abilities and military conduct of Sir Robert Barker,³¹ appoint him to be Commander of our forces under your Presidency upon the death or coming

away of Brigadier General Richard Smith with the rank of Brigadier General, agreeable to a copy of his commission enclosed and the pay of £750 a year, also the commission as settled in the 182d paragraph of this letter.

185. Since writing the foregoing, we have taken a review of the case of Mr. Thomas Forbes at the request of his friends ; and we direct that if on the conclusion of the suit depending against him in your Mayor's Court, damages shall be decreed in the Company's behalf, and he shall make the same good as far as his circumstances will allow, you do permit him to return to England upon his request.

186. Since Mr. David Ross's departure to your Presidency as a cadet we have appointed him to be a Lieutenant upon the Fort St. George establishment. You must acquaint him therewith and order him to proceed thither to take upon him that post.

187. We cannot but express our displeasure on observing that you have not complied with the mode suggested by us of communicating what may be necessary for our information respecting the integrity and ability of our covenanted servants, especially of those whose standing is next on the list below Council. Instead of observing our directions, you inform us, the President represents that Lord Clive's and his own correspondence with the Court of Directors may "not only induce them, but convince them of the necessity of determining the matter". We are far from approving this manner of proceeding. We must always suppose our Governor and Council best qualified to give us proper light on the subject, and from thence we expect it. We should deem it derogating from our honor were we to suffer ourselves to be swayed by private information or application in matters so interesting to the Company's service. We therefore direct that in case of vacancy or vacancies in our Council, you do forthwith, or as soon as conveniently may be, proceed to fill up such vacancy or vacancies according to the established rule of the Company's service, conforming yourselves on all occasions, as nearly as may be, to our pleasure signified by the 88th paragraph of the General Letter to your Presidency, dated 24th December 1765.

188. Having thought fit to revoke the order for the *Lord Mansfield's* proceeding to Theneriffe and directed the Governor and Council of Fort St. George to give her all possible dispatch for your Presidency, the 50 pipes of Canary wine intended for your use by the said ship will not be sent.

189. We have, since the date of our advices of the 10th November last, drawn upon you the following setts of bills of exchange at two shillings the rupee and thirty days sight.

One sett for rupees two thousand payable to James Alexander Esqr. for pounds sterling two hundred received of Geo: Richd Foley, dated the 5th January 1770.	Rs. 2000	£ 200
One sett for rupees three hundred payable to William Foster for pounds sterling thirty received of Mr. Elmes Foster, dated 12th February 1770.	300	30
One sett for rupees two thousand payable to James Alexander Esqr. for pounds sterling two hundred received of Mr. Robert Steane, dated 14th February 1770.	2000	200

One sett for rupees three hundred payable to John Bristow for pounds sterling thirty received of Mr. Richard Neave, dated 22nd February 1770.	300	30
One sett for rupees one thousand payable to Richard Tydell for pounds sterling one hundred received of himself, dated 23d February 1770.	1000	100
One sett for rupees five hundred payable to James Morris for pounds sterling fifty received of Mr. John Horsley, dated 10th March 1770.	500	50

We are
Your loving friends,

G. Colebrooke / P. Cust / Hy. Crabb
Boulton / J. Purling / Fredk. Pigou /
John Harrison / Rd. Bosanquet / Daniel
Wier / William Snell / Peter Du Cane
Junr. / Ben. Booth / George Cuming /
Jn. Woodhouse / L. Sullivan / Wm.
James / Henry Fletcher / George Demps-
ter / Chas. Boddam / W. G. Freeman /
Robt. Gregory.

London,
23d March 1770.
(Per Mansfield)

4

PUBLIC LETTER DATED 6 APRIL 1770

Instructions relating to despatch of a ship with cargo and stores to Balambangan to develop trade.

OUR President and Council at Fort William in Bengal.

1. Since the date of our letter of the [23rd] March last we have taken into our further consideration the opening a trade to the eastward. In consequence of the orders given in our advices of last season for taking possession of the island Ballambangan with which you have been acquainted and in order to avail the Company of those advantages which we are assured will result from the forming an establishment on that island, we have resolved to carry the same into effectual execution, and shall accordingly provide a ship for that purpose to be dispatched from hence early in the ensuing season with a proper cargo and stores under the conduct of such persons in whose knowledge and abilities we can confide for the furthering our intentions in regard to this undertaking, with which you will be more fully informed.

2. If possession shall be taken and maintained of the said island in our behalf you must provide the following articles, *vizt.*

Opium Patna 350 chests

Ferret goods

<i>Humhums</i> 24 <i>covids</i> long and 3 broad	2000	pieces
<i>Cossaes</i> Maulda &ca. of different sorts	1000	do
<i>Baftaes</i> of different sorts	2000	do
<i>Romals</i> of different sorts	2000	do
<i>Taffaties</i> [Taffeta] crimson and striped	1000	do
Blue cloth of different kinds	2000	do
<i>Choppa Romals</i>	500	do

which are to be laden on one of our schooners, well fitted and manned, to be dispatched at latest by the end of March 1771, consigning the same to the Governor and Council at Fort St. George, who are directed to make a timely provision of piece goods and other articles suitable to the eastern trade in order to be put on board that vessel and consign the same to our agents at Ballambangan, provided the island shall be in our possession; and you are to concert the necessary measures with our servants at Fort St. George that those orders may be punctually obeyed in their full extent.

3. Should not the ships beforementioned intended for the expedition arrive at Fort St. George in all the month of May, they are then not to fail in giving the schooner from your Presidency an immediate dispatch to the island, furnishing the commander with such instructions as from their experience and knowledge of the circumstances of the case shall appear most fitting, and particularly enjoining him to make no unnecessary delay, that he may run no risk of gaining his passage; and upon his arrival at Ballambangan he is to be directed to obey the orders of our agents there for his future proceedings; but under the circumstances of the non-arrival at Fort St. George in all month of May of the intended ship as mentioned above, our President and Council there are to appoint a proper person from their civil establishment to act in our behalf and proceed with the said schooner to Balambangan, giving him the necessary instructions accordingly, and to dispose of the cargo that shall be consigned thither on our account and purchase in return such commodities as shall be fit for the China market.

4. We enclose some instructions for the navigation of the vessel employed on this business after passing the Streights of Mallacca, which the President and Council of Fort St. George are to communicate to the commander and may be of service to such vessels as shall in future proceed thither.

5. Several cadets who were not ready in time to take passage on the ships consigned to the Coast and Bay are obliged to proceed on the *Northumberland*, *True Briton* and *Duke of Portland*. A list of the names of those for your Presidency is enclosed,¹ and others will be sent in each ship's packet on which they embark.

6. Mr. Charles Wedderburn, who went on the *Verelst* as a cadet for your Presidency, being a relation of Brigadier General Wedderburn's, whom we have appointed Commander in Chief of our forces at Bombay, we have at his instance appointed him a cadet for Bombay of which you must acquaint him and permit him to proceed accordingly.

7. Mr. Alexander Donaldson, one of the cadets for your Presidency who

goes on the *Duke of Portland*, is appointed in the room and with the rank of Henry Perfect, who has declined going.

8. Mr. John Fenwicke, appointed a cadet for Bengal, is to rank next below Mr. John Powell and Mr. Henry Brookes next below Mr. Fenwicke, instead of standing in the order they are named in the list per *Lord Mansfield* and *Morse*.

London,
6th April 1770.
(Per *True Briton*
via Bombay)

We are,
Your loving friends,
G. Colebrooke / Pere Cust / Hy. Crabb
Boulton / Jn. Woodhouse / John Mot-
teux / Fredk. Pigou / John Harrison /
J. Manship / Wm. James / Robt. Gre-
gory / Daniel Wier / Henry Fletcher /
Ben. Booth / George Cuming / W. G.
Freeman.

5

PUBLIC LETTER DATED 20 JUNE 1770

John Lindsay and M. Law appointed to negotiate and settle the disputes between the French and the English in India.

OUR President and Council at Fort William in Bengal.

1. It has been signified to us by His Majesty's Secretary of State that the Court of France had invested Monsieur Law with full powers to examine into the supposed infractions of the late treaty of peace¹ by the demolition of the works erected round Chandernagore and by interruptions alleged to have been given to the freedom of the French commerce in Bengal, and that in consequence of that Court's request to the King to appoint a person with proper powers to treat the matters in dispute between the subjects of the two Crowns in India, His Majesty had constituted Sir John Lindsay² his plenipotentiary for that purpose.

2. We therefore hereby require and direct you to furnish Sir John Lindsay with all possible information and to yield him the necessary assistance, whereby he may be enabled to answer the complaints of the French, to justify the conduct of the Company's servants, and to defend those rights of which His Majesty obtained the express stipulation in the late treaty of peace.

London,
20th June 1770.

We are,
Your loving friends,
G. Colebrooke / J. Purling / Thos. Rous /
Jno. Michie / John Roberts / Wm.
James / Jn. Woodhouse / Hy. Crabb
Boulton / Geo. Dudley / Heny. Savage /
J. Hurlock / Ben. Booth / Robt. Gre-
gory / John Harrison.

PUBLIC LETTER DATED 27 JUNE 1770

Shipping news—composition of the Court's Secret Committee—instructions relating to French complaints of interference in their trade and destruction of their drainage works at Chandernagore—warning against French military preparations at Mauritius and Madagascar—investments up to Rs 70 lakhs insisted upon, and diversion of revenue to any purpose not absolutely necessary for defence prohibited—infringement of orders relating to bills of exchange drawn on the Company in England—Bolts's case: success of his appeal to His Majesty in Council and his reinstatement as Alderman; papers relating to his suit against the Company's servants called.

OUR President and Council at Fort William in Bengal.

1. Our General Letter to your Presidency was dated 23d March and went in duplicate by the ships *Morse* and *Lord Mansfield* as did a letter of the same date to your Select Committee. We have since wrote a short letter in triplicate under 6th April per *Morse* and by the way of Bombay per ships *Duke of Portland* and *True Briton*.

2. The *Hampshire* arrived here the 17th, and the *Ankerwyke* the 21st April and brought us the following advices from your Presidency, vizt.

General Letter dated 25th September 1769, recd. per *Ankerwyke*.

General Letter in the Secret Department of the same date per do . . .

Triplicatedo .. . 6 July . . . do . . .

General Letter from the Select Committee dated 30th September.... ..

received per *Ankerwyke*.

.. do..... ..do 21st April .. . do .. .

General Letter dated23d November 1769, *Hampshire*.

dofrom the Secret Department dated same day. . .do

General Letter from the Select Committee dated 1st December 1769..
per do..... ..

3. The gentlemen who compose our Secret Committee¹ for the present season are Sir George Colebrooke, Bart. Chairman, John Purling Esqr. Deputy, Henry Crabb Boulton, George Dudley, John Harrison, John Manship, Frederick Pigou, Thomas Rous, and Henry Savage Esqrs., and they are invested with the like powers as advised in our letter of the 15th September, 1769.

4. Herewith you will receive list of the arrival and departure of shipping since our last advices, also list of persons who have our permission for proceeding to the East Indies on board His Majesty's ship *Dolphin*.

5. His Majesty having ordered the *Dolphin* frigate of war, commanded by Digby Dent Esqr. to proceed to the East Indies, we embrace this opportunity to convey such informations and directions as at this time appear to us immediately necessary to be communicated to you.

6. In the beginning of the month of April last it was signified to us by Lord Weymouth² that His Most Christian Majesty³ had transmitted to

Mr. Law full powers for adjusting all disputes concerning the works formed round Chandernagore, what related to interruptions alleged to have been given to the freedom of the French commerce in Bengal by the obstructing their manufactures in cutting goods out of the looms to the great prejudice of their investment, and authorized Mr. Law to settle all differences at this time subsisting or which at any time hereafter might subsist between the subjects of the two Crowns in India contrary to the 11th article of the last treaty of peace; and further that His Majesty, at the requisition of France, had resolved to send on the *Dolphin* for Bengal a plenipotentiary with powers similar to those with which Mr. Law was invested to negotiate with him on the before-mentioned subjects, which when the ministry informed us of this design appeared to be the only complaints made by the French against our servants.

7. At the time His Majesty's Ministers had this appointment in contemplation, the *Hampshire* happily arrived with your advices and Consultations, informing us at large of what had passed between you and the French concerning their works at Chandernagore, and the measures taken for effectually destroying them, as they appeared to be so formed as to be easily convertible into a line of defence in manifest violation of the treaty subsisting between the two nations.

8. Upon the receipt of these advices we immediately laid before Lord Weymouth copies thereof and of the plans of the works erected round Chandernagore, and we have the satisfaction to believe that the steps you have taken in this affair have received the approbation of His Majesty's Ministers.

9. Nevertheless it has been notified to us by a letter from Lord Weymouth that His Majesty has constituted Sir John Lindsay his plenipotentiary for examining into the supposed infractions of the late treaty of peace; and we therefore require you to afford him the necessary information and assistance for the discussion of the points in dispute between our servants and the subjects of the Crown of France in India, whereby he may be enabled to answer the complaints of the French plenipotentiary, to justify your conduct, and to defend those rights of the British Crown which were obtained by express stipulation in the Treaty of Paris and which appear to have been invaded by the proceedings of the French at Chandernagore.

10. And we must here further observe to you that when objects of a very interesting or delicate nature shall occur wherein the advice or assistance of a servant of the Crown, being in India, may in virtue of the powers he may hold or at your own instance become necessary, you are on no account to depart from those earnest and positive orders we have given you for cultivating and promoting the utmost harmony and cordiality with him for the advancement of the public service consistently with the entire preservation of the privileges and immunities of the Company. And as a mutual confidence and communication on the part of His Majesty's plenipotentiary must tend to the good of the common cause as well as the interests of the Company, you will consequently request Sir John Lindsay to give you full information of the steps he may think proper to take in his negotiation. And we have not the least doubt of his readiness to co-operate with our servants in every design calculated for the benefit of those great and valuable purposes.

11. Upon the consideration of your proceedings with the French, as stated

in your advices and Consultations, particularly on the report of Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, your Chief Engineer, accompanied with plans of the works at Chandernagore [constructed] under pretence of a drain for carrying off the stagnating waters and which, as it appears, were actually formed so as to be easily converted into lines of defence, we must, upon what you have laid before us on this insidious attempt of the French to fortify themselves in Bengal, join with you in deeming it a gross infraction of the treaty subsisting between the two nations, and therefore think you justified in the measures you have taken for reducing those works to the purpose of a drain only, and we recommend it to you in the strongest manner, by pursuing a firm yet moderate conduct, to keep them within the bounds of the late treaty. Nevertheless, at all times, when their proceedings may call upon you to act with vigour, you must not fail in the most equitable manner to make the stipulations between the two Crowns the rule of your conduct, and thereby deprive them of the least cause for charging you with any breach of the harmony and hospitality that ought to be respectively maintained by each nation.

12. Notwithstanding our approval of your conduct so far as it relates to the final measures taken by you for defeating the attempts of the French to fortify themselves in Bengal, we cannot pass unnoticed your remissness in not having prevented sooner the execution of so great a part of their design. For when we consider the progress made by the French in the works constructed by them, and the length of time which had elapsed from Lieutenant Colonel Martin's survey to that made by Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, and further that your resolution of sending your Chief Engineer a second time to examine into the state of the works carrying on at Chandernagore should be in consequence of an intimation given you by the Nabob's ministers, we cannot suggest to ourselves the least excuse for such apparent negligence and inattention as you have shewn in thus suffering those works at so small a distance from Calcutta to be prosecuted contrary to the letter as well as the spirit of the late treaty of peace and to extend to such a degree as to become formidable and dangerous to the Company's possessions.

13. And as by the letter we have received from Lord Weymouth (copy of which we herewith send you) you will see in what light your conduct in this respect appears in the eyes of His Majesty's Ministers. we require you to explain fully to us the motives of the permissions and indulgences which you may have granted the subjects of France and to exculpate yourselves from all imputation of neglect and inattention. This we expect you to do without delay, as we shall not rest satisfied under the present appearance of your misconduct in a point of so much consequence both to the Company and the nation.

14. As to the charge made by the French of interruptions in the freedom of their commerce or of obstructions to their manufactures from the servants of the Company, we have the satisfaction to find upon a careful inspection of your proceedings as they appear by your letters and Consultations that the subjects of France have no just ground for a complaint of this nature. We therefore hope you will be able to give such evidence to His Majesty's plenipotentiary as shall enable him fully to refute the charge.

15. We have here at large directed the conduct you are to observe in

regard to Sir John Lindsay's negotiation with Mr. Law, and in consequence of the desire of Lord Weymouth, we have also given you our general instructions on this subject in a separate letter under a flying seal, which you will receive from the hands of His Majesty's plenipotentiary, copy of which we now forward to you.

16. To inform you of the whole of our proceedings in the intercourse we have had with administration on the subject of your disputes with the French, and to point out to you the measures we have taken to justify your conduct therein (so far as it appeared to us justifiable), we have thought proper to send you also a copy of our reply to the letter we received from Lord Weymouth as before noticed to you. And we most earnestly hope that the representations we shall receive from you in consequence of the orders we have given you will entirely remove every objection to such part of your conduct as at present lies open to censure.

17. And we desire and direct you to continue the whole of your transactions and letters respecting the objects of Sir John Lindsay's plenipotentiary powers separately from the General Consultations of either Department in like manner as you have done your proceedings relative to Chandernagore, and you must not fail to forward the same to us by every opportunity, that we may be able to communicate without delay such facts and circumstances as it may be requisite for us to lay before His Majesty's Ministers.

18. Although we are not minutely acquainted with the strength of the French at the Islands in men and shipping, yet from various concurring accounts there is reason to apprehend that the forces there, and at Madagascar, where they are said to be forming an establishment and training the natives to arms, are numerous; but from the measures intended to be pursued by the Commander of the King's ships bound to India when at the Cape in December last, we cannot doubt of your receiving such intelligence on this interesting subject as may be relied on, and direct your future caution and prudence in the pursuit of steady and vigorous measures to render ineffectual any designs that enterprising nation may have in view prejudicial to our possessions in India; and you are not to fail paying the strictest obedience to our repeated directions that you most vigilantly and attentively observe the motions and designs of the French, being constantly prepared to guard against any intended blow from them, that you insist upon and enforce a sacred observation of the national stipulations and keep us at all times, but particularly in cases of moment, as early and speedily informed of their strength and operations in India as possible, and that by vessels to be dispatched express whenever the importance of the case may require it.

19. An Act^t having passed in the last session of Parliament for better regulating persons employed in the service of the Company, and whereby the penalty recoverable on the value of illicit trade instead of thirty per cent shall hereafter be one hundred per cent, also for making persons in the Company's service who transport any warlike stores or assist therein with intent to dispose of the same in the East Indies or within the Company's limits liable to a prosecution in the Court of King's Bench for a high crime and misdemeanor and on conviction to corporal punishment or fine, and also for rendering any of the Company's civil or military servants in the

East Indies subject to be tried in the said court and punished if guilty of oppressing any of His Majesty's subjects there, we send you a large number of copies of the said Act that you may make the same as extensively publick as possible. And you are to take care that the regulations thereby established are fully and effectually obeyed by all persons within your jurisdiction, and particularly in cases of offences against the said Act which are cognizable here, you do not fail to transmit the fullest evidence in your power to enable us to bring the offenders to justice.

20. When in our letter of the 23d March last we expressed our apprehensions of the danger which threatened the Company from a design formed by you for establishing a fund for military resources on a reduction of the investments on which its very being depends, we were not without hopes that the conclusion of the Carnatic War would have put an entire stop to so destructive a measure. We therefore want words to express our astonishment at finding by the proceedings of your Select Committee of the 7th August, 1769, that notwithstanding the knowledge that Committee then had of the peace with Hyder Ally and the little occasion the Presidency of Madras could have for any considerable supplies, they should yet come to a resolution to reduce your investment for the present year to 45 lacks of rupees.

21. To justify such a resolution your Select Committee in their letter of the 23d November has laid before us a gloomy prospect of the insufficiency of your revenues to furnish the investments we have required of you and at the same time satisfy the demands which press so heavily on your finances. But as we have not yet received your statement of the 23d October (which is mentioned as the foundation of their extraordinary proceedings in respect to your opening your treasury for bills on us), we can only form our judgment of your ability by the calculate of receipts and disbursements entered on your Select Proceedings of the 21st March, 1769, by which it appears that you would have a sufficient balance at the close of the year to enable you, with the ordinary receipts of the ensuing, to provide investments equal to the utmost of our expectations, and at the same time answer the demands on you for payment of the navy and army donations^a, of the sum due to the estate of Bolackadass^a, and the necessary supplies of our Presidencies of Fort St. George and Bombay.

22. The deficiency you have represented to us must therefore arise from your setting apart a sum for the establishment of a fund for future exigencies; but as in our letter of the 23d March we have directed, in the most positive manner, that every consideration which does not affect the immediate security of our possessions is to yield to the absolute necessity of your sending us investments to the amount of at least 70 lacks, we have little more to add than to enjoin the most punctual compliance with our orders in that respect. And we have the greatest reason to hope that the permission contained in our letter by the *Lapwing* for your drafts on us will have relieved you from any difficulty on this account, even supposing the whole of the demands you have stated to us should be discharged in the current year.

23 As to your annual consignments to so large an amount, we cannot entertain a doubt of your being able to invest it in the manufactures of Bengal, especially as there was not a due proportion of fine goods in the

import of last year, to which we require your strict attention in future ; and you must take the utmost care that the fabrick be no ways debased.

24. We observe that the muslins by the ships of last season are invoiced higher than usual, yet on inspection are found so much inferior in quality and goodness to those of the same marks hitherto imported, that we are convinced the buyers will reject them even at prime cost.

25. After the sale, we shall write you more particularly on this subject, and by the first ship send samples for your own observation, as no method we can think of will so strongly evince the extreme want of attention in the Company's servants as a review of such bad manufactures, purchased indiscriminately at most exorbitant prices.

26. In order to obtain the most perfect knowledge of the situation in point of strength of the French on the island Madagascar and of the establishments they have formed there as mentioned in the 19th paragraph, we hereby direct that as soon after the receipt hereof as possible you send one of our sloops under the command of a prudent and intelligent person to reconnoitre and examine the whole coast round that island, but more particularly the east side. St. Mary's and Foul Point, and to obtain the fullest information of the force which the French have there, the establishments they may have formed, and a minute account of their proceedings. And as by this conveyance similar directions are given to Bombay to send a vessel for the like purposes from thence, you are to give the commander the proper instructions for his returning to you to communicate the result of his enquiries in the most expeditious manner, that we may be informed thereof either directly from you or from Bombay by an overland conveyance, if the importance of the intelligence may make a communication thereof by that channel necessary.

27. We are advised of the *Lapwing* snow's arrival at Atchin Head the 26th November last and her proceeding thence for Bengal the 2d December following. Our letter dated the 30th June by that vessel acquainted you with our determination on the subject of remittances to be made through our cash. And being resolved to abide by the terms and conditions then established for the receipt of money for bills of exchange to be drawn upon us until our further pleasure shall be signified to you thereupon, it is for the present material only to observe, in reply to that part of your letter of the 23d November last by the *Hampshire* which acquaints us with your intention of drawing bills on the terms and rates therein mentioned, that you have contrary to our repeated and standing orders infringed the power we have ever reserved to ourselves, of fixing on the terms for indulging individuals with drafts on our treasury here, and therefore do hereby positively forbid you to invade that right, which we are resolved to maintain in our own hands, declaring we shall deem you responsible for a breach of this order, unless you shall, under the last necessity, be fully justified in deviating therefrom.

28. Upon the information received that the late Mrs. Hunt, the widow of Major Hunt, by her last will, proved in the Mayor's Court of Calcutta, has bequeathed her estate of considerable value to Charles Palmer, an orphan, during his natural life, and in case of his death to the poor of the island St. Helena, we recommend it to you to take the proper measures for securing

the disposal of that legacy according to the will of the testatrix, and engaging the executors, so far as in you lies, to deposit the amount in our treasury for notes bearing interest at 8 per cent per annum, which you are to grant upon receiving it into our cash.

29. Having permitted Mr. Hawke to proceed to the East Indies, he takes his passage accordingly in the *Dolphin*, and is to continue there until you shall receive directions for his appointment to an employ on our civil establishment, which we shall give by a future ship of this season, as a mark of our grateful sentiments and acknowledgement of the eminent services rendered to the public by his father, Sir Edward Hawke.⁷

30. Notwithstanding we have a high opinion of the merits of Mr. Henry Guinand who proceeded to Bengal as Superintendent of the Investment of Piece Goods under your Presidency, and have great dependance on profiting from his abilities in that branch, yet we must not omit strongly to recommend it to you to be very attentive to his strict performance of his duty therein, as we are, to our great concern, entirely convinced from the indifference of the goods lately received that his utmost attention will be required, by an amendment of the several articles, to remove the loud complaints now made by the buyers of the bad quality of them.

31. His Majesty having approved of the report of the Lords of His Privy Council and their sentence therein mentioned, whereby the judgement given by you for removing Mr. William Bolts from the office of one of the Aldermen of the Mayor's Court of Calcutta is reversed, and he is restored to his said office pursuant to his petition of appeal to His Majesty, and we having in consequence of the said sentence of reversal signified to him our expectation that he repair to Calcutta in one of the Company's ships of the ensuing season in order to resume the functions of his said office, you must acquaint Mr. Lawrell, who was appointed to fill up Mr. Bolts's vacancy as an Alderman, that he must relinquish that office, and is no longer to act in that capacity after the receipt of your notice.

32. As Mr. Bolts hath instituted suits at law against the Company's servants it is absolutely necessary for their defence that you send the following particulars, first taking three copies thereof duly attested to be disposed of as hereafter mentioned, *vizt.* Mr. Bolts's original letters to the Governor and Council and Select Committee from 1764 to his departure from Bengal; his original petitions, protests and remonstrances; his original letters to Messrs. Becher and Alexander if they can be procured; also those to Mr. Droz or any of the Company's servants; Brigadier General Smith's original letters concerning Mr. Bolts; the original intercepted letter, Mr. Bolts to Mr. Gentil; his original information and petition to the jurors on 27th May, 1768, and Mahomed Reza Cawn's letter mentioned in Consultations 15th August, 1768; or any other original papers that have passed relative to Mr. Bolts. These originals are to be transmitted by the first ship; and two sets of the said copies must also be sent by two different ships, each sett of copies to be examined with the originals by the commander, and chief and second mates, of the respective ships on which such copies are sent that they may be able to give evidence thereon; and it is also necessary that the Company's seal be affixed to all such copies as shall come through your hands, and

that of the Mayor's Court to those from that court ; and the other authentic copy of the whole duly attested must be kept amongst your records.

33. His Majesty having been most graciously pleased to confer the dignity of Knights of the most Honorable Order of the Bath on Sir John Lindsay and Major General Eyre Coote, the insignia of that Order are transmitted on the *Dolphin* frigate with His Majesty's letter to the Nabob of Arcot and instructions for His Excellency's investing the Knights with that Order. Captain Cope also proceeds on the said ship with the necessary instructions to assist the Nabob in the performance of the proper ceremonies on this occasion.

We are,

Your loving friends,

G. Colebrooke/J. Purling/Thos. Rous /
Wm. James / Chas. Chambers, Junr. /
Pet. Lascelles / John Roberts / Hy.
Crabb Boulton / Wm. Devaynes / Ben.
Booth / Daniel Wier / Edwd. Wheler /
Jno. Michie / W. Cruttenden / Geo.
Dudley / John Harrison / Jn. Wood-
house/George Cuming/Heny. Savage/
J. Hurlock.

London,
27th June 1770.

7

PUBLIC LETTER DATED 4 JANUARY 1771

Shipping and investment: list of ships commissioned for the season; articles intended for export to India and China for the year; instructions relating to supply of investment from the various settlements—despatch of machinery and tools required by the filatures—measures to encourage export of silver to Bengal—clive's fund for relief of soldiers—uncertain political situation in Europe: warning to be on guard and to take defensive measures.

OUR President and Council at Fort William in Bengal.

1. By His Majesty's frigate the *Dolphin*, which sailed from Spithead the 5th August, we wrote to you under date of the 27th June, duplicate whereof accompanies this, as doth the copy of our General Letter of the 23rd March.

2. Since the dispatch of the *Dolphin* the following advices from your Presidency have been received, *vizt.*,

Additional General letter	dated 16th December, 1769	Received per <i>Lioness</i>	13 July 1770
Letters from the Select Committee	16 and 17 -do-		-do-
General Letter	20 and postscript of 26th	<i>Royal Charlotte</i>	12 -do-
-do-	3 January 1770	per	-do-
-do-	25 -do-	per <i>Duke of Grafton</i>	2nd August
-do- from the Secret Department.	31 -do-		-do-
Letter from the Select Committee	4 February		-do-
General Letter	13 -do-	per <i>Anson</i>	13 October
Letter from the Select Committee	17 -do-		-do-
-do-	18 March	Received via Lisbon	26th November per Danish [ship]

3. In order to bring home the large investment which we have reason to expect our servants in the East Indies and China have provided in compliance with our repeated and earnest directions for that purpose, we have taken up twenty-nine ships to proceed thither this ensuing season on the same terms as those of last year. Their names, commanders and consignments are as follow, *vizt.*,

Ships	Commanders	Consignments
<i>Duke of Richmond</i>	Thomas Hindman . . .	St. Helena, Bencoolen, and China
<i>Queen</i>	George Stainforth Junr.	Madeira Coast and China
<i>Sea Horse</i>	Edward Dampier . . . }	Bencoolen and China
<i>Thames</i>	Daniel Clarke . . . }	
<i>Calcutta</i>	William Thomson . .	St. Helena and China
<i>Pacifick</i>	Charles Barkley . . . }	
<i>York</i>	George Hayter . . . }	Coast and China
<i>Grosvenor</i>	David Saunders . . . }	
<i>Horsendon</i>	Alexander Jameson . .	
<i>Talbot</i>	Sir Charles Hudson Bart.	
<i>Ankerwyke</i>	William Bassett . . . }	
<i>Salisbury</i>	Philip Bromfield . . . }	China
<i>Glatton</i>	Richard Doveton . . . }	
<i>Cruttenden</i>	William Baker . . . }	
<i>Grenville</i>	Burnet Abercrombie . .	

Ships	Commanders	Consignments
<i>Asia</i>	Robert Preston	Madeira, Coast and Bay
<i>Colebrooke</i>	Arthur Morris	
<i>New Ship</i>	Fasham Nairn	
<i>Ponsborne</i>	Samuel Hough	
<i>Speke</i>	Jeffery Jackson	
<i>Rochford</i>	William Hunt	
<i>Lord North</i>	William Hambly	Madcira and Bombay
<i>Deptford</i>	William Tryon	
<i>Clive</i>	John Allen	Bombay
<i>London</i>	John Webb	
<i>Dutton</i>	Henry Ricc	
<i>Godfrey</i>	Francis Reed	
<i>Hampshire</i>	John Smith	Bombay and Mocha
<i>Shrewsbury</i>	Benjamin Jones	Bombay and China

4. We send, as usual, lists of the arrival and departure of our shipping since the advices by the *Lord Mansfield*.

5. You will receive this letter by the ships *Asia* and *Ponsborne*, the triplicate whereof will be sent by a future conveyance. The *Asia* is ordered to call at Madeira to take in 50 pipes of wine for our Presidency of Fort St. George. Our correspondents there will furnish you with the necessary vouchers for the 150 pipes to be sent you, and you are to govern yourselves agreeable to our former orders respecting the distribution and advising of the quality and leakage of the wines which will be consigned to you this season. You are also to send the usual supply of five pipes for the use of our servants at Fort Marlborough, and for the remainder of these ships' cargoes, you are referred to the invoices and bills of lading enclosed in each ship's packet.

6. The principal articles of our intended export to the several parts of India and China the ensuing season will consist of the following particulars, *vizt.*—

For the Presidency of Bengal

Cloth 1161 bales, long ells 106 bales, and 30 bales of broad long ells of ten pieces each; copper 145 tons; lead 136 tons; iron 70 tons; gunpowder 1,270 barrels.

For the Presidency of Fort St. George

Long ells 20 bales; copper 100 tons; lead 95 tons; iron 50 tons; gunpowder 1,000 barrels of 60 lb. weight each.

For the Presidency of Bombay

For the Bombay market: cloth 992 bales; long ells 184 bales; carpetting 20 bales; copper 255 tons; lead 186 tons; iron 60 tons; steel 25 tons.

For the Bussora market: cloth 506 bales, and 149 bales of long ells of ten pieces each.

For Fort Marlborough

Treasure 10 chests ; iron 20 tons.

For China

Treasure 300 chests ; cloth 1393 bales ; long ells 1,000 bales ; camblets 600 pieces ; *hairbines* 200 pieces ; lead 2260 tons.

7. Besides the abovementioned principal exports, we shall send considerable quantities of stores of various kinds as nearly equal to your indents as we think necessary, of which a particular account will appear in the respective ship's invoices, to which you are referred.

8. We have been obliged to lade 280 barrels of the gunpowder designed for your Presidency on the ships bound to Fort St. George and China, and 220 barrels on the Bombay ships, which our Presidents and Councils are directed to forward to you by the first safe conveyances after their receipt.

9. As our Presidency of Fort Marlborough will stand in need of many articles which we cannot send them from hence, we direct that you comply with their indents to the utmost of your ability.

10. The medicines and drugs provided for your Presidency this season are supplied by the apothecaries company Mr. Hannay and Mr. Bevan and Son, who are directed to distinguish their respective packages that in case the articles are not of the best quality we may know of whom to demand the loss.

11. By the foregoing list you will observe that we have consigned seven ships to be returned with cargos from the Coast and Bay including the reserve for half a cargo from Bencoolen as hereafter mentioned. We doubt not, therefore, of your convincing us of your attachment to our interest by giving them as full loadings as possible ; and in case of your ability to provide surplus tonnage let the same be duly proportioned.

12. But should the treasuries of Bengal and Fort St. George admit of a provision of goods more than sufficient to give full loadings for the before-mentioned six ships and half, you are to inform our President and Council of Bombay thereof that they may send round to you or to Fort St. George, as shall be concerted between you, a ship or ships for that purpose.

13. We have destined the *Hampshire* and *Shrewsbury* to be sent in the proper season from Bombay to Mocha and China, whereof it is necessary you should be advised that you may give every assistance in furnishing those ships with suitable cargos ; and in case any accident should befall either of them we shall order one or two others to be sent to China and Mocha in their room. The gentlemen we have appointed supracargos of the *Hampshire* for Mocha are Messrs. Edward Ironside, John Harvey and Captain John Smith.

14. As we have ordered our Governor and Council at Fort Marlborough to lade on the three ships consigned thither in their way to China all the black pepper they could collect in time, so have we further ordered our said servants to reserve all the white pepper they can procure together with such a quantity of the black sort as shall be sufficient for half a cargo of a ship, which they are

advised would be directed to call there from the Coast and Bay. You are therefore hereby directed to concert with our servants upon the Coast how to send so soon as possible one of the seven Coast and Bay ships beforementioned after lading about half a cargo of piece goods and reserving room for the remainder of her cargo of pepper for Europe from Bencoolen, whence she is to be finally dispatched.

15. The gentlemen we have appointed to be Council at Canton to provide returning cargos for the fifteen ships ordered from hence this season and the *Northumberland* expected there from Bombay are Messrs. Alexander Hume, Edward Phipps, Francis Wood, William Rous, John Walton, Thomas Bevan, William Harrison, Matthew Raper, John Bradly Blake, James Bradshaw and William Henry Pigou; and all those gentlemen except Mr. Walton are appointed Residents for 1772.

16. To provide cargos for so large a number of ships expected from China in the season of 1771 we have formed the following calculate:—

Supposed balance of 1770 remaining in China	£100,000
Woollen goods and lead from hence this year	174,500
<i>Northumberland</i> from Bombay	40,000
Pepper from the West Coast	36,000
Indian goods from Madrass	50,000
Bills drawn on us by the supracargos as by last ships	87,500
Silver from hence	300,000
	<hr/>
	788,000
	<hr/>

17. By the foregoing estimate it appears that there will be a balance in the Residents' hands of near £150,000, supposing they load on each ship to the amount of £40,000, notwithstanding which we should esteem it an essential service if you could increase the value of Indian products from your Presidency, or assist our Residents at Canton with specie for bills drawn on us upon the terms hereafter mentioned. However, we doubt not but your zeal, even supposing a failure of resources for the present year, will suggest some expedient for assisting this valuable branch of our commerce in future.

18. Although we have calculated only £87,500 as the amount of cash expected to be paid in at Canton for bills to be drawn on us, yet we cannot but hope it will much exceed that sum, as we have permitted our China Council to draw on us to the amount of £200,000 at the advanced rate of 5s. 6d. the weighty dollar payable at 365 days sight without interest, estimating the high rate of exchange as an equivalent in lieu of interest.

19. Mr. Wiss one of the Superintendents of your Raw Silk Investment, having ordered last year a considerable quantity of reels, wheels and other implements to be made at Novi for the use of the filatures, and as they could not be executed in time to be sent on the ships of that season, they are now shipped on the *Ponsborne* in twelve cases, and on their arrival must be sent to Mr. Wiss, whose filatures are supposed to be in greater forwardness than those of the other gentlemen, as well from his having left England before them as

from his having more assistants with him. Mr. Wiss must properly assort and arrange the said implements as they are not supposed to be packed in setts. He has our permission to retain one half of the whole, and the remainder are to be sent in equal proportions to Messrs. Aubert and Robinson.

20. There will also be sent on some of the ships of this season several articles for the use of the filatures which were ordered last season and not compleated in time ; also sundry other articles deemed necessary for that purpose which are on their receipt to be divided in equal proportions between Messrs. Wiss, Aubert and Robinson.

21. You are hereby directed to provide two thousand five hundred tons of saltpetre as part of the tonnage to be returned on the ships now going out. You will therefore concert with the Presidencies of Fort St. George and Bombay to send thither such proportions as they may want to compleat the loadings they shall have to send to Europe.

22. We have lately appointed twenty writers for the service of your Presidency, who will proceed upon the ships of this season. Their names and rank will be hereafter advised, excepting the names of those who take passage by these ships, which will appear by the lists of passengers in their respective packets.

23. As Mr. John Perring, appointed one of the writers for your Presidency, resides at present at Fort St. George as a free merchant, we have directed our President and Council there to acquaint him of his appointment and to require him to proceed to his station by the earliest opportunity.

24. Your granting only one sett of certificates to each of the Captains, Smith of the *Hampshire* and Samson of the *Duke of Grafton* for the amount of their own and officers' indulgence was very irregular and attended with inconvenience. We therefore direct that in future you grant a separate sett of certificates to each officer for the amount he shall pay in on account of his indulgence ; and in case the officers do not pay in the whole of their allowance you may add the deficiency to the commanders' proportion should they request it.

25. We must also point out another omission of which you have been guilty, namely, in not advising us of the certificates granted to Captains Sir Charles Hudson Bart., Samson, and Lennox by the ships *Talbot*, *Duke of Grafton* and *Anson* ; for although you received the amount after those ships' dispatches were closed, yet your Secretary might have advised thereof in a letter to our Secretary.

26. With a view to promote the exportation of foreign silver to our Indian settlements, we have thought proper not only to remit the duty usually paid to the Company by those who export silver to their friends in India, but are also come to a resolution to receive all monies here for our bills on your Presidency at the rate of 2s. 2½d. the current rupee instead of 2s. as advised to you in our letter of the 11th November 1768, paragraph 115.

27. An agreement having been entered into by the Company and the Right Honorable Robert Lord Clive respecting the institution of a fund for

the relief and maintenance of European officers and soldiers¹ who shall become invalids or superannuated in the Company's service and of their widows and the widows of such as shall die in the service, we herewith transmit to you printed copies of the deed of covenants relative to this fund, and likewise copies of the regulations we have established for carrying it into immediate and effectual execution. And as the deed and regulations circumstantially set forth the nature and extent of the Military Fund, we refer you to them for every necessary information.

28. The singular advantages which this generous institution offers to the military in the Company's service being the more likely to subject it to abuse, it is requisite that the utmost caution as well as impartiality be observed by the respective commanding officers in granting certificates, and by the Governor and Council of our several Presidencies in authenticating the same by their approval. This, we hope and trust, will be duly attended to on your part, and we enjoin you to recommend it to every commanding officer on your establishment not to grant a certificate which may entitle any person to be admitted a pensioner on this fund without the fullest evidence of such person being actually an invalid and incapable of further service in India, and this must be certified to the commanding officers under the hand of the surgeon of the regiment or at least one of the army surgeons. And the greatest circumspection must be observed in all cases where the reality of the cause alleged for the application for a certificate is not apparent or easily ascertained. And you are to direct that in every certificate which may be granted to a non-commissioned officer or private soldier the place of birth, the age, stature and other descriptive marks be inserted, the better to defeat any attempts at imposition by persons into whose hands such vouchers may fall.

29. Several soldiers having applied for the benefit of this charity without any other plea than their being provided with certificates of their having been discharged the Company's service at their own request after serving their contracted time of five years, it will be highly necessary, in order to prevent any of the Company's military continuing in an error that would naturally tend to the injury of the service as well as to their own disappointment and detriment, that they be made acquainted with the conditions of the covenant as well as with the general regulations which have been established for transacting the business thereof, and that they be given clearly to understand that though this laudable charity has been instituted for the maintenance and benefit of such as are truly objects of it, yet it is by no means intended to be employed towards the support of such men as may be capable of further duty; consequently none must propose to themselves or expect any advantage by returning home unqualified for pensioners, or otherwise unentitled to any relief from it.

30. We observe by your Consultations of 26 December 1769 that you have cancelled the bonds standing in the name of the Right Honorable Robert Lord Clive for the sums paid into your treasury on account of the Military Fund, and have granted new bonds to our President and Council as trustees for this fund, with interest for periods different from what you will find specified and settled in the deed of covenants beforementioned. It is therefore necessary you should rectify such error by a transfer of the latter account to the former, and then carrying the amount of the several sums which constitute



Lord Clive receiving a sum of money from the Nawab of Bengal.
for the fund for disabled officers and soldiers

this fund to a distinct head on your books in conformity to the express conditions of the said deed.

31. By this agreement you will perceive that the interest of the original fund of 8 lacks of *sicca* rupees from September 1766 to September 1769 is become a new capital for such contingent purposes as are not provided for by the deed, and accordingly you will add in a separate article the said interest only to the original fund whereby the state of this transaction may appear regular and conspicuous on the books of your Presidency.

32. You will also take notice that the principal fund of 8 lacks of *sicca* rupees and the contingent capital arising from the interest of the said 8 lacks from September 1766 to September 1769 are, from the last period, to remain as an inactive part of your stock bearing no interest on your books as the same is to be paid by us in England.

33. Great naval preparations are making in this kingdom with all possible expedition, and as the cause will be best explained by His Majesty's speech at the opening of the present session of Parliament, we herewith transmit the same to you. You will thereby perceive that the state of public affairs is at this time extremely critical, and it is therefore absolutely necessary for you to be well on your guard against any surprize, and to make such preparations for your defence against any European enemy as the precarious situation of affairs may render expedient.

34. In the former part of this letter we directed you to concert with our Presidency of Fort St. George concerning a ship to be sent half laden to the West Coast to compleat her cargo with pepper, but having since found it expedient to take up the ship *Pigot* Captain George Richardson for St. Helena and Bencoolen, you are therefore not to send either of the Coast and Bay ships to Bencoolen for the purpose before directed, as the *Pigot* will take in such pepper as our servants on the West Coast may be enabled to lade on her.

35. By means of this alteration it is become necessary for you to provide half a cargo more for the Coast and Bay ships than was at first intended, and we trust you will exert yourselves to the utmost to supply the deficiency which may otherwise happen in the cargoes of the ships to be returned to us.

36. We have drawn upon you the following sets of bills of exchange at 2s. 2½d. the rupee and 30 days sight, *vizt.*

One set for rupees 10,867-15-0 payable to Mr. Charles Fleetwood for pounds sterling £1,200 received of Mr. John Wells dated 24 October, 1770 . . .	}	Rupees 10,867-15- 0	£1,200.0
One set for rupees 1,358-7-10 payable to Miss Eliza Blackerie for pounds sterling £150 received of herself dated 14 December 1770	}	1,358- 7-10	£150.0
One set for rupees 452-13-4 payable to Mr. Samuel Dyer for pounds sterling £50 received of Mr. William Dyer dated 18 December 1770	}	452-13-4	£50.0

One set for rupees 452-13-4 payable to		
Mr. John Bristow for pounds sterling		
£50 received of Mark Cramer Esqr.	452-13- 4	£50.0
dated 24 December 1770		
		<hr/> £1,450.0

We are,

Your loving friends,

G. Colebrooke/J. Purling/Thos. Rous/
Hy. Crabb Boulton / Geo. Dudley /
Fredk. Pigou / John Harrison / Henry
Savage / Bep. Booth / Ja. Cockburn /
Chas. Chambers Junr./J. Hurlock /
Wm. James / Jno. Michie / Pet. Las-
celles / John Roberts.

London,
4 January 1771:
(Per Rochford.)

8

PUBLIC LETTER DATED 1 FEBRUARY 1771

Tension eased and amicable relations renewed between Spain and Great Britain—hostile preparations of the French at Mauritius and instructions to take precautionary measures.

OUR President and Council at Fort William in Bengal.

1. In our letter of the 4th January last, we apprized you of the grounds we then had to fear an approaching rupture between the Crowns of Great Britain and Spain; but we have now the pleasure to acquaint you that a declaration has lately been made on the part of His Catholick Majesty and accepted by the Court of England which has removed our apprehensions of such an event. Of this you will be more fully informed by the *London Gazette* which is herewith transmitted to you.

2. But though the renewal of amity with the Court of Spain has relieved us in this particular, yet as the measures of the French in collecting so great a force at the Islands cannot but alarm us with fears of their having hostile intentions against our settlements, we must repeat our injunctions to you that

you will use every precaution and exert every means in your power to frustrate any design they may form against our possessions.

We are,

Your loving friends,

G. Colebrooke / J. Purling / Geo. Dudley / Thos. Rous / Hy. Crabb Boulton / John Harrison / Fredk. Pigou / Heny. Savage / E. H. Cruttenden / John Roberts / Ben. Booth / Pet. Lascelles / Jno. Woodhouse / Chas. Chambers Junr. / George Cuming / John Michie / Wm. James / Wm. Devaynes / Edward Wheeler / J. Hurlock / Jas. Cockburn.

London, the 1st February, 1771.
(Per *Talbot*
„ *Horsendon*
„ *Lord North*)

9

PUBLIC LETTER DATED 8 MARCH 1771

A squadron of the King's navy under Admiral Harland sent to assist the Company—instructions regulating relations with the Admiral.

OUR President and Council at Fort William in Bengal.

1. His Majesty from a tender regard to the interest and welfare of the Company having been most graciously pleased to order a squadron of his ships to proceed to the East Indies to protect the Company in their possessions and commerce and to support their just rights and privileges, we hereby inform you that the said squadron is composed of the following ships under the command of Sir Robert Harland Bart., Rear Admiral of the Blue, *vizt.*—

Rate ¹	Ships	Guns	Men	Captains
3	<i>Northumberland</i>	70	520	John Symonds
...	<i>Oxford</i>	70	520	Thomas Taylor
...	<i>Buckingham</i>	70	520	Isaac Florimond Ourry
4	<i>Warwick</i>	50	350	Charles Leslye

2. As we have not found it requisite for us to grant to Rear Admiral Harland a commission as Commander in Chief of the Company's marine forces we have only to apprize you in what cases, and how far, it may be proper for you to give him authority over any of our armed vessels.

3. In all expeditions wherein the co-operation of our naval force shall be necessary, you are to put under Admiral Harland's command such of our ships, frigates and armed vessels, as the nature of the service may require; and during such expeditions, it must be submitted to the Admiral's judgment

to act therein according to circumstances and the particular exigency of the Company's affairs.

4. We must, however, observe, that the powers thus delegated by us to Admiral Harland are not meant to extend over any other of the Company's marine forces than what shall be put under his command as beforementioned, excepting only such of our armed vessels as he may meet at sea and shall judge necessary to detain for the good of the service, whose commanders, notwithstanding any orders they may be under from our servants, are to conform to those the Admiral may think proper to give them for the better executing any service in which he may be then engaged.

5. We enjoin you to give Rear Admiral Harland the utmost assistance and your best advice to enable him to carry the intentions of His Majesty into effectual execution in such manner as shall be most conducive to the honor of the nation and the interests of the Company. And whenever any marine operations and expeditions are to be deliberated upon, we direct that (in the absence of the Commissioners) our President and Council or our Select Committee do desire the advice and assistance of the Admiral, and that they concert with him such measures as may be expedient for effecting any maritime plan or purpose.

6. On the arrival of Rear Admiral Harland at your Presidency, you must not fail to pay the honors due to His Majesty's flag and to salute him with 15 guns, on which we cannot doubt but you will receive the proper and usual return.

7. As we have the highest sense of Admiral Harland's abilities as a naval commander and assure ourselves of his exerting them to the benefit of the Company as well as of the public service, you must not fail to shew him every mark of respect due to his rank and merit.

8. We also require you to treat with civility and regard the several commanders of His Majesty's ships, and we expect you in all your proceedings to cultivate with His Majesty's officers in general that harmony and concord which is so essentially necessary for the good of the common cause.

9. It is our pleasure that Admiral Harland be provided with a house or commodious apartments for his residence whilst at your Presidency, and that he be allowed after the rate of forty shillings a day, of which we desire his acceptance, to defray the expense of keeping a table for himself and such officers as he shall think proper, which allowance is to commence upon his arrival at Madras and to continue during his stay in India, and is to be in full consideration of all allowances whatsoever.

10. With respect to any allowance to the other commanders of His Majesty's ships, the rules which were observed by you towards the naval officers of different ranks in the late war are now to be your guide.

11. Should any of His Majesty's ships be in want of stores, provisions and necessaries, you are hereby directed to furnish the commanders with such sums of money for the purchase thereof as they shall desire of you on that account, taking four bills of exchange of the same tenor on the proper officers in England for the amount which you may so advance, drawn at the

current exchange payable to the Court of Directors at 30 days sight ; and you must not omit to send three of such bills of exchange by different conveyances.

12. In case you may be under a necessity of having current accounts relative to His Majesty's ships we positively direct you to adjust the same with the proper officers as soon as possible, and take bills for the balances which shall be due to us on such accounts ; or, if bills cannot be obtained, you must take care that the accounts be so authentically certified by the commanders or proper officers that we may not for want of sufficient vouchers be subject to such difficulties and ineffectual applications for recovering the respective balances as we have experienced on former occasions.

We are,

Your loving friends,

G. Colebrooke / J. Purling / Hy. Crabb
Boulton / Geo. Dudley / Thos. Rous /
John Harrison / Fredk. Pigou / J. Man-
ship / Ja. Cockburn / Ben. Booth / W.
Devaynes / John Roberts / J. Hurlock /
Wm. James / Pet. Lascelles / George
Cuming / W. Cruttenden / Jno. Michie /
Daniel Wier / Chas. Chambers Junr. /
Edwd. Wheler / Robt. Gregory.

London
8th March 1771.
(Per *Rochford*.)

PUBLIC LETTER DATED 22 MARCH 1771

Shipping news and instructions—iron goods and other articles for making docks at the Presidency—service matters.

OUR President and Council at Fort William in Bengal.

1. We have already written to you this season under date of the 4th January last by the ships *Asia* and *Ponsborne*, which sailed on their voyages the 15th following, the triplicate of which letter will be sent by the *Rochford*, and a short letter of the 1st February by the way of Fort St. George per *Talbot*, duplicate and triplicate whereof are in the *Rochford* and *Lord North's* packets. We have also written a short letter under the 8th instant by His Majesty's ship *Northumberland*; the duplicate and triplicate are sent on the *Lord North* and *Rochford*.

2. Upon the 15th January we received overland your Select Committee's letter of the 9th May last.

3. Enclosed you will receive lists of the departure of our ships since the sailing of the *Asia* and *Ponsborne*, also of the passengers on board these ships the *Rochford*, *Lord North* and *Speke*.

4. We also refer you to these ships invoices and bills of lading for the particulars of their cargos.

5. The *Speke* is consigned first to Madeira to take in fifty pipes of wine, and the remaining one hundred pipes will be laden on the *Lord Holland* and *Colebrooke*. Our correspondents there will furnish you with the necessary papers and you must conform to our former orders as to their disposal.

6. You must comply with the indents of our servants at St. Helena for what Madeira wine they shall want, which must be invoiced at prime cost without adding thirty per cent thereon as you did on the former consignment of that article.

7. Captain John Smith having resigned the command of the ship *Hampshire* and being succeeded therein by Captain Thomas Taylor, we have made the following alterations in the destination of our ships vizt., the *Shrewsbury* Captain Jones is to be sent to Mocha; the *London* Captain Webb is to proceed from Bombay to China; and the *Clive* Captain Allen is to be consigned from Bombay to your Presidency with a cargo of cotton, provided she can be sent round in time to save her passage home the same season of her arrival, from whence you are to return her to Europe, or send her back to Bombay with saltpetre, as you shall think is most for the interest of the Company, and if returned to Bombay she is to be dispatched home from thence.

8. Should either the *Shrewsbury* or *London* be prevented by any unforeseen event from proceeding on her destined voyage, the *Clive* is to supply her place.

9. And should the *Clive* be disabled from going to Bengal, or another ship be wanted to be sent thither besides the *Clive*, the *Deptford* is to be the next ship in turn for the Bengal voyage. The *Hampshire* Captain Thomas Taylor is consigned directly to Bombay.

10. We send on the ships of this season two mooring chains of seven fathoms, two of eight, two of nine, and two of ten fathoms with swivel at the end of every six or seven feet, agreeable to the recommendation of your late Master Attendant, Mr. Page Keeble, and we intend to send the like number annually.

11. As a confirmation of the good opinion of the utility of making docks at your Presidency, we have permitted the attornies of Colonel Campbell and Mr. Watson to send on the ships of this season about 105 tons of iron work and other necessaries for carrying their plan into execution for which they have paid freight here, and we direct that you furnish them with ten tons of sheet copper and twenty tons of bar iron upon their application and on their paying for the same at the invoice price.

12. We have also permitted the attornies of Messrs. Campbell and Watson to send on the *Rochford* Humphrey Davis as Master Shipwright and his son William Boddicott Davis as his Assistant for their service free of charge to the Company.

13. You must send to St. Helena on every ship you dispatch next season five hundred strong *gunnies* for the purpose of making sand bags, being esteemed better than any thing we can send from hence for that service.

14. Having received very extraordinary accounts of the efficacy of a medicine for the cure of the dysentery and all inward bleedings which accounts being supported by the testimony of several persons of consequence who have experienced its salutary effects in the West Indies and other parts of the world, we could not hesitate about giving this medicine a tryal in hopes of its preventing the loss of many persons in India, where such numbers are carried off by that dreadful disorder. It is with this view we have sent in the *Rochford's* packet some bottles of this medicine with directions enclosed in a box ; and it is particularly recommended that the surgeons of your Presidency be strictly enjoined to give this medicine a fair trial and to report the result thereof.

15. We have appointed Mr. Thomas Call to be a practitioner engineer with the rank of ensign at your Presidency, but permitted him to proceed first to Fort St. George on the *Lord North* to assist in finishing the survey of the *jaghire* lands granted to the Company by the Nabob of Arcot. Mr. Call's pay and rank are to commence from the time of his arrival at Fort St. George, and we have directed our President and Council to advise you to what time he shall have been paid.

16. Mr. Thomas Ford, whom we appointed a cadet for your Presidency last season, having been left sick at Madeira and thereby obliged to come back to England, has our permission to return to his station without prejudice to his rank which is next below Mr. Thomas Jones.

17. We have also appointed Mr. William Foster, who went to India in His Majesty's ship *Dolphin*, to be a cadet at your Presidency ; his rank will be advised in the list of cadets, which will be sent by the last ships of this season.

18. Mr. Laurence Orman has since our General Letter of the 23rd March 1770 presented another memorial to us requesting payment of the amount of his budgrow and cargo, pressed by Sir Robert Fletcher at
Para. 137. Joanpoor in 1766, to which he has annexed his affidavit as to the truth of his demands with the particulars and amount of the cargo, which we herewith send for your notice ; and if it shall appear to you upon a full examination that the articles are fairly charged and no compensation has been made for the same, we then direct that you pay the amount to such person as he shall authorize to receive it.

19. We have drawn upon you the following set of bills of exchange at 2s. 2½d. the rupee and .30 days sight.

One sett for rupees 452-13-4 payable to Mr. Mattw. Gunning for pounds sterling £50 received of the Right Hon^{ble} Lord Coleraine dated the 7th February, 1771. } Rs. 452-13-4 £50

We are,

Your loving friends,

Wm. James/Ben Booth/John Roberts/
J. Hurlock/Pet. Lascelles Jno. Michie/
George Cuming/Wm. Devaynes/Chas.
Chambers, Junr./G. Colebrooke/J. Pur-
ling/Geo. Dudley/Thos. Rous/Fredk.
Pigou/John Harrison/J. Manship/
Daniel Wier/W. Cruttenden/Edwd.
Wheler/J. Cockburn.

London,
22nd March, 1771.
(Per *Rochford*.)

11

PUBLIC LETTER DATED 22 MARCH 1771
(FROM SECRETARY, COURT OF DIRECTORS)

Arrival of the Lapwing with packets.

The Honble the President and Council
at Fort William in Bengal.

Gentlemen,

I am commanded by the Court of Directors to acquaint you that the *Lapwing* snow arrived off the Lizard the 20th instant, and that the packets containing your advices by that vessel coming to their hands whilst the *Lord North* and *Rochford* were under dispatch, they will in consequence be considered of by the ships to be hereafter consigned to you this season.

The *Lapwing* left the *Dolphin* frigate of war and the Company's ship *Morse* at the Cape of Good Hope the 20th December last, but none of their shipping had to the 6th January 1771 touched at St. Helena since the *Anson's* departure from thence homewards.

I am,

gentlemen,

East India House, London
22nd March 1771.

Your most obedient humble servant,
P. Michell Secy.

PUBLIC LETTER DATED 10 APRIL 1771

Shipping instructions : every ship to have a stock of 35 barrels of gun-powder on board ; captains required to register the whole of their private trade ; mode of calculating tonnage of cotton—trade and investment : suggestion to open a Residency at Rangpur to develop trade with Assam and Bhutan—measures necessary to check the decline in commerce and improve the condition of the people : change from gumastah to dadni system of providing investments ordered ; establishment of an improved judicial system ; stopping issue of dastaks ; abolition of all internal chaukies except the nine general ones ; opening of trade with Oudh—relations with country powers : disapproval of the financial settlement with the Nawab of Bengal, allowances paid to Muhammad Raza Khan, &c. ; Shah Alam to be persuaded to stay in the Company's territory ; desirability of obtaining Korah and Allahabad in exchange for Benares and of securing the cession of Chunargarh ; Vazir to be persuaded to remove M. Gentil from his service—buildings and fortifications : construction of the new Fort William ; maps and charts to be drawn on a uniform scale to facilitate the preparation of a general chart of India—revenue and finance : coinage—abolition of batta ; appointment of Supervisors to report on the state of the provinces commended ; enquiry ordered into the unadjusted balances of Dacca revenues while under the management of Muhammad Raza Khan—service matters : alarm at the Commissioners not reaching India ; new regulations relative to covenants and bonds to be signed by the Company's servants ; tax on sale of provisions at army camps not to be levied—accounts : Fort William's conduct in respect of bills on London censured ; directions regarding the new mode of keeping accounts—strictures on Council—Select Committee controversies over appointments to the Revenue Councils at Patna and Murshidabad, etc.—appointment of Warren Hastings as Governor.

OUR President and Council at Fort William in Bengal.

1. The ships *Speke*, *Rochford*, and *Lord North* carried our last letter of the 22nd March last.

2. By the ships *Colebrooke* and *Lord Holland* now under dispatch for Madeira, Coast and Bay, we shall give our instructions and remarks upon your several advices received last season in the accustomed manner under the established heads.

First, of shipping

3. We have entertained Andrew Stein and Alexander Lassly to be volunteers for your pilot service on the usual terms ; and as the former served as gunner of the *Calcutta* last voyage, it is our direction that you employ him in that service according to his abilities.

4. Captain Barnaby Bartlett, who went to Bengal in 1768 with our license to provide for himself in the seafaring way, being well-qualified to succeed as

Deputy Master Attendant at your Presidency, we direct that he be appointed thereto on the first vacancy that shall happen after those persons are provided for who have been already recommended by us to succeed to that employ; and upon any vacancy of Master Attendant he is to succeed thereto according to his turn.

5. It having appeared that some of our ships in their homeward voyages have returned with an insufficient quantity of gun-powder to the great hazard of our property laden on board such ships, we are resolved for the mutual security of the Company and owners to pursue such measures as may put a stop to an omission from which the most prejudicial consequences may ensue. We therefore hereby positively direct that you inform yourselves in the most certain and precise manner of the quantity and quality of gun-powder on board each ship before her departure homewards from your port, not only by a strict and perfect survey and report to the Board by the proper officers (whom we shall deem personally accountable to us for any neglect of duty in this instance), but also by calling the commanders before the Board that you may know from them the quantity of powder they have remaining for their homeward voyages; and as no ship ought to be dispatched to us without being furnished with at least 35 barrels of serviceable powder, or being answerable for a deficiency therein, you are hereafter, on finding any ship's powder short of that quantity, to require the commanders to provide themselves with so much as shall be wanting to compleat the abovementioned quantity of 35 barrels, and upon their neglecting or refusing so to do, you are to protest against them for all losses and damages that may ensue therefrom, as we are positively determined to avail ourselves in the most ample manner of the penalties to which they shall render the owners and themselves liable by so notorious an infraction of the charterparty covenants, and you are at all times hereafter to consider and obey this as a standing order.

6. Several of the commanders of our Europe ships, notwithstanding their instructions and our orders to you of the 30th December, 1763, have registered only part of their private trade, and many of them under different frivolous pretexts have illegally disposed of quantities to a very considerable amount in their homeward bound voyages to the great prejudice of the Crown and Company, thereby exposing themselves and owners to very rigid penalties. And we, being now firmly resolved to put a stop to such unlawful and evil practices, do hereby direct that you call upon the commanders and officers of the ships consigned to you to give in full true and perfect registers of their private trade according to the covenants in charterparty, which if they shall neglect or refuse to do or shall break bulk or dispose of any of their private trade in their return homewards, the offenders will experience our severest resentment not only by dismissal from the Company's service but suits at law will be instituted against them for recovery of the penalties they will render themselves liable to by such unlawful practices, and we expect that the Custom Master do send the manifest of private trade in each ship's packet upon pain of incurring our displeasure. And we further direct that the Custom Master do call upon every commander before his dispatch for Europe to deliver in his boatswain's book for the Custom Master to see that the same is regularly kept and he is to sign his name thereto.

7. Whenever any of the commanders or officers of our ships want to bring

home rough amethysts or any articles that may be deemed precious stones on account of their private trade adventure, you must acquaint them that we expect the same be duly inserted in your registers of diamonds and such like articles.

8. If the commanders of any of our outward bound ships of this year that may call at your Presidency shall be in want of money for their ship's use in India, you are to advance them such sums as they may want and request for that purpose at the same rate as we have ordered you to receive cash of our covenanted servants for bills on us, paying a strict attention to our former orders to you on this subject communicated in the 11th and 12th paragraphs of our letter of the 7th January, 1767, and the 115 @ 17 [115 to 117] paragraphs of 11th November, 1768. And here it is needful to intimate that we design to charge no more than ten per cent on such advances as shall be made the commanders.

9. Notwithstanding our orders of the 17th March, 1769, for making your Import Warehouse Keeper accountable for the deficiencies in the cargoes of the ships *Lord Camden*, *Britannia* and *Pigot*, yet we find the same practice is continued in the deficiencies by the *Verelst*. We therefore direct that you not only demand but insist upon payment of the same by the Import Warehouse Keeper, as there appears to have been a very great neglect on his part whether the goods were delivered or not, the endorsements on the bills of lading and the accounts of deficiencies being palpable contradictions to each other, which if continued must always make it very difficult to adjust the accounts with the owners here. And you are to signify our displeasure to him for his want of care and attention in this part of his business, and that on any future occasion of this kind he will experience a much severer punishment. And it is our further direction that you do not fail in your next advices to clear up these difficulties by shewing how the mistakes have arisen, and by what ships there were deficiencies of goods according to their accounts, and by which the cargoes were delivered intire according to the endorsements on the bills of lading.

10. The method observed by our servants on the Malabar Coast in calculating the tonnage of cotton sent on our ships from thence at the rate of twelve hundredweight to the ton makes it amount to much less in tonnage than it does when reckoned by measurement; and being of opinion that the latter method is the most equitable, considering also that cotton which is an article of very great bulk in that case is not laden upon the same footing as other goods, the different tonnages which they are reckoned at being nearly equal to the measurement of them, we hereby direct that in future the tonnage of cotton be calculated by measurement reckoning fifty cubical feet to the ton instead of the method hitherto practised of calculating it at twelve hundredweight to the ton.

*Secondly, of goods from Europe or from
one part of India to another*

11. The quantity of iron we send to your Presidency this season is 70 tons, of which 20 tons are to be sold to Lieutenant Colonel Campbell and Major Watson for carrying on the docks and other works constructing by them; the

remaining 50 tons are for use, as from a want of tonnage on the ships of this season not any is sent for sale.

12. Notwithstanding the pleasing information of Captain Du Gloss having established a foundry for casting brass guns, we have paid a due regard to the recommendation in the 102d paragraph of your letter of the 25th September, 1769, by ordering a supply from hence of brass ordnance of different calibres.

13. We send in the packets the report of assays made at the Tower of the coins received from you in the last season with our Accountant's remarks, to which due attention must be given.

14. And it being essentially necessary we should be acquainted with the price of gold and silver at your Presidency, you must send us at least in duplicate an account of the price current of gold and silver distinguishing the different species of coins and standards.

Thirdly, of investments

15. We send you a list of investment to be provided at your Presidency for the ships consigned to the Coast and Bay this season, in which list are contained our remarks and observations on the goods received the last year, for your guidance in the provision of the several articles to which you must give all due attention.

Fourthly, of the trade of India, transactions with the country Governments and European nations

16. It having been represented to us that the Company may be greatly benefited in the sale of broadcloth, iron, copper, lead, and other European commodities by sending proper persons to reside at Rungpore and to explore the interior parts of Buttan, Assam, and other countrys adjacent to Gaulporah, and as you well know our earnest desire to extend the vend of the staples of this kingdom to as great a degree as possible, we are surprized you have not already made an attempt to carry so desireable an object into execution. You are therefore required to procure the best accounts possible and give us your opinion thereon.

17. On comparing the once flourishing state of the commerce of Bengal with the gradual decline it has undergone for several years past it gives us the greatest concern that so unhappy a change should have happened under our Government and at a time when our influence over the whole country was sufficiently established to enable our servants to remove every visible source of this unnatural decay. Hence we have been led to the most serious enquiry and investigation of the various causes which may have produced such fatal effects; and as in this research there have arisen to our view many evils which must have brought on the present declining state of the country, we shall here point out such remedies as we deem equally necessary and effectual for restoring Bengal to its former vigour and to the full exercise and circulation of that commerce from which the Company as well as the kingdom itself had received such great and manifest advantages.

18. As freedom in trade is necessarily productive of its increase the mode of providing your investments by *gomastahs*, *delols* and *pykars*¹ must be a perpetual bar to that freedom which we are so solicitous to establish. We therefore hereby order and direct that you revert to your former practice of providing investments by contracts with *dadney* merchants. And in the conduct of this measure you must by a general publication of our intentions invite as great a number of merchants to deliver proposals and make your contracts as extensive as possible, being attentive at the same time to the improvement of the several manufactures and taking care that you engage only with merchants of good character and sufficiently valid for the full performance of their contracts.

19. Though by increasing the number of *dadney* merchants the Company's risk in the advances it may be necessary to make will be lessened, you must however require from them a proper and competent security for their engagements as we cannot consider the merchants being bound for each other as sufficient to prevent the losses we may be subject to by the failure of particular persons. It is no less expedient that the *dadney* merchants with whom you may contract be liable and agree to such penalties as have been customary or may be requisite for securing to the Company the full and timely delivery of the goods they shall engage to provide and for preventing any debasement in the quality or deficiency in the measure thereof; and these merchants must also be bound under proper penalties not to purchase or provide for any person or persons whatever such sorts and species of goods and manufactures as they shall contract to supply for your investments.

20. As on the revival of the ancient mode of providing investments by *dadney* merchants you may not for some time at least be able to procure from them such a quantity of goods as our occasions may require, you are in such case to open your warehouses for ready money purchases of such articles as may be wanted to supply the deficiency of your contracts and may be fit and proper for the Europe market. But as we are apprehensive such purchases may furnish us with goods of the common sortments, only you must be attentive to secure by your contracts as large a provision as possible of the best and approved fabricks. To this injunction we are not only led by present necessity, but we assure ourselves that by such means the manufactures of Bengal will soon be restored to their former degree of fineness and estimation, so that our ships may not as of late be returned to us with depreciated fabricks, some of which have scarce produced their original cost. And in these important objects we hope and trust that your regard for our interests will engage you to pursue such measures as shall be most likely to promote our views and effect our designs for the benefit of the country as well as the Company's commerce.

21. As the aim of our orders for removing from the *aurungs* the Company's *gomastahs* and agents of any denomination is to relieve the weavers and manufacturers who have long groaned under the oppressions of such petty tyrants, we earnestly recommend to you to consider and apply the most effectual means to prevent the *gomastahs* and agents of any persons under our jurisdiction from exercising the like abuses, exactions and extortions as we have reason to fear have been committed by persons under sanction of the Company's name. You are also by maintaining a due execution of justice in

the several courts throughout the provinces to afford the oppressed natives all such relief as may encourage them to pursue with alacrity their several occupations and by convincing them of the benefits of our influence excite them to recompence by their industry the attention of their benefactors.

22. As it is impossible for us to be minutely informed of the regulations established by the constitution of the country for the security of the persons and properties of the native inhabitants, it must therefore rest on your local knowledge to judge of the internal policy and the executive parts of justice defective in any point or too confined to yield that universal relief which we are solicitous to obtain for every individual. In case the means should not be equal to this end you must not fail to employ your influence with the Government to supply all defects and to institute such inferior orders of magistracy as may be wanting for the entire protection of all ranks and degrees of the people.

23. Should the superior courts in the several districts require any reform your own judgment will suggest to you the means and your humanity will excite your efforts for preventing any abuses or negligences in the due course of justice. We must however particularly recommend that all power in the judges of imposing arbitrary fines be immediately abolished; and it will be proper that the *sonnauds* appointing judges for the Mohomedans or Bramins for the Hindoos be registered in form, and that a record be made of the sentences in the Nabob's courts, one copy to be kept in the *cutcherry* and another transmitted to Muxadavad.

24. As it may happen that the processes of the courts while they aim at the remedy of one evil may be productive of another, you must enjoin our servants wherever they shall be stationed to recommend in all matters of property between the natives that they adjust their differences by arbitration instead of legal suits which may involve both parties in trouble and expense; and having reason to apprehend that the abuses of the country courts in requiring the different parties to give security for the payment of *choute*² on the adjustment of disputes by arbitration have tended greatly to discourage this mode of deciding differences, you must use your influence with the Government for the abolition of the *choute* exacted by the courts in cases of arbitration.

25. From a conviction that the most effectual means to restore and invigorate the trade of Bengal will be the opening every proper channel for its extension and giving it that general freedom which is so necessary to encourage the industry and attract the attention of the natives, we can no longer permit our servants of any rank or station whatever to enjoy the exclusive privilege of *dustucks*. And here when we speak of *dustucks* you are to understand not only *dustucks* but *rowannahs*, *perwannahs*, orders, letters or any powers or favours which may be conferred and which can in any way yield an influence or superiority or favour of one more than another and this without the least distinction to nation or complexion.

26. It is therefore our pleasure that all *dustucks* be immediately withdrawn and that native merchants as well as Europeans under our protection may have every excitement to extend their views to the increase of that commerce which we have reason to fear has been long languishing under those

discouragements with [which?] the privileges of our servants have enabled them to lay on the general circulation of trade.

27. Persuaded as we are that the internal traffick of Bengal has received further checks from the duties which are levied and the exactions which are imposed at petty *chokees*, we positively direct that no such *chokees* be suffered to continue, on any pretence whatever, to impede the course of commerce from one part of the provinces to another.

28. It is however necessary that the nine general *chokees* which have been established for collecting the duties payable to the *Circar* should remain, and those only; and that a person on the part of the Nabob should reside at each *chokeey* to receive the usual and established tolls: and that one or more of our civil servants on behalf of the Company as *Duans* should be stationed at each *chokeey* to superintend the receipts, keep proper registers of all collections, and take care that no impositions or irregularities be committed.

29. And you are to give the most peremptory and positive orders for their sending to the Presidency monthly accounts of the collections minutely specifying the names of the several persons who may pay the duties, the number of boats, the quality and quantity of the goods, the name of the person to whom such goods belong, the day of payment and the time such cargoes are detained and when dispatched, with a full and ample state of all transactions whatever. These accounts are to be transmitted within ten days after the expiration of each month to the Board of Revenue, who are to superintend their conduct, and from time to time give them such directions as they shall think necessary.

30. As we understand that the subjects of other European nations, though they claim a right to *dustucks*, have constantly paid a certain regulated toll at the general *chokees*, the accustomed duties must be collected from them by Government in the manner hitherto practised, for it is our positive injunction that no extraordinary tolls be levied, and no obstructions or unnecessary delays be given to their passage, so that they may not have any just cause to complain of arbitrary proceedings or any undue exercise of our power as *duans*.

31. With respect to the natives and all others under our jurisdiction we further direct that no oppressions or impediments be laid on their traffick up and down the river, but that upon their conforming to ancient customs and paying the established duties the passage of their goods be facilitated by all possible dispatch.

32. Sensible that the abolition of *dustucks* may deprive some of our servants of advantages which they may not have forfeited by any abuse of such privilege, we shall not be inattentive to some proper means of extending our favour to them. We therefore direct that for all duties which may be paid by our servants of the several ranks to which we before allowed the use of *dustucks*, certificates be granted them by the collectors at the established *chokees*, and upon their making affidavit that the goods on which such imposts were levied were on their own account and not directly or indirectly the property of any other person whatever. You are to transmit to us an account for one year of all such certificates, distinguished under the different ranks and denominations of our respective servants, the better to enable us to judge

what gratification it may be proper for us to bestow as an incitement to their diligence and to the faithful discharge of their several duties.

33. Another means to revive the drooping commerce of Bengal is to establish a free intercourse with the more distant provinces and with the territories of Sujah Dowlah, and here we are led to remark that, as by 8th Article of our treaty with that *Soubah* in 1765 it had been stipulated that the Company should have a trade duty free throughout the whole of his dominions, the annulling that article by a general prohibition of any further trade to his country appears to have been equally unadvised and unnecessary. This prohibition is the more extraordinary as we nowhere find that Soujah Dowlah had ever requested you so to do, or even intimated any complaint of the abuse of that article but what was of a private nature and might have been obviated by the authority of our President and Council without having recourse to a remedy so impolitical and pernicious as depriving the Company of the advantages which were to be expected from a free trade to his dominions.

34. The misconduct of our servants in this respect is aggravated by a consequential loss of 20 per cent on the sales of a great part of our exports and so far are they from having any plea of misconstruction of our orders of 17th March, 1766, that they were then expressly directed to make the extension of the sale of woollens and European goods the principal object of the 8th Article of the treaty. We therefore hereby require you to revoke the prohibition which has been issued, and to open and extend to the utmost of your power that commerce to which we were entitled by the stipulation in 1765 and which has been renewed and confirmed to us by the treaty of 1768.

35. Convinced of the benefits which must result both to the Company and the province of Bengal from such intercourse of traffick, it must be your care to avoid giving Soujah Dowlah the least reason to desire the revocation of his grant or a diminution of its effects in any one instance. And while our views herein, no-ways interfere with the orders we have given for restricting the residence of free merchants to the Presidency, we cannot apprehend that any abuse of these privileges of a free trade will prevent the *Soubah* from seconding our designs and affording us an advantage which must tend to his own as well as the Company's interest; and as our purpose may be more easily obtained and better effected by proper regulations, you will recommend to Sujah Dowlah the establishing one *chokeey* on the Carumnassah^a at the frontier of his territories, and that permits be there granted giving an exemption to all boats passing that *chokeey* into his dominions from any further search, hinderance, or molestation.

36. When we advert to the encomiums you have passed on your own abilities and prudence and on your attention to the Company's interests (in the expostulations you have thought proper to make on our appointment of Commissioners to superintend our general affairs in India) we cannot but observe with astonishment that an event of so much importance as the death of the Nabob Syful Dowlah and the establishment of a successor in so great a degree of nonage should not have been attended with those advantages to the Company which such a circumstance offered to your view.

37. We mean not here to disapprove the preserving the succession in the family of Mir Jaffier; on the contrary both justice and policy recommend

a measure which at once corresponds with the customs and inclinations of the people of Bengal. But when we consider the state of minority of the new *Soubah* we know not on what grounds it could have been thought necessary to continue to him the stipend allotted to his adult predecessors.

38. Convinced as we are that an allowance of sixteen laaks per annum will be sufficient for the support of the Nabob's state and rank while a minor, we must consider every addition thereto as so much to be wasted on a herd of parasites and sycophants who will continually surround him, or at least to be hoarded up, a consequence still more pernicious to the Company. You are therefore during the nonage of the Nabob to reduce his annual stipend to sixteen laaks of rupees; and this we have the greater reason to require as we find ourselves subjected to the payment of large sums due from the revenues of the *Duanny* before the Company became possessed thereof on account of the Navy Donation and the arrears of that to the army, the balance due for restitution to Europeans, Colonel Munro's demand of two laaks,⁴ the debt due to Bolackydass, and the annual sum of one laak for ten years which we have agreed to pay to Juggut Seat,⁵ all which press on us with such united force that our treasury will be unable to satisfy these several demands without wounding our commercial interests and endangering our possessions in Bengal. Being once relieved from this load of incumbrances, the savings we may expect from this reduction will properly become a fund for military exigencies, which fund, being solely applicable to the defence of the provinces, will contribute no less to the Nabob's future benefit than to that of the Company.

39. At a time when every justifiable measure should be adopted for availing the publick and the Company of all the advantage we had in prospect from our possession of the *Duanny*, we cannot but reflect on the dissipation of a considerable part thereof by the allowances to the Nabob's Ministers.

40. And here we must observe that how great so ever the application of Mahomet Reza Cawn⁶ and his adherence to the Company's interests may have been, his rewards have been more than adequate thereto; and, as the business of the collection of our revenues, when they shall have been thoroughly investigated by the Supervizors appointed for that purpose will require little or no assistance from that minister, we must deem the continuance of his present salary as a waste of those resources which are become so essentially necessary both for the security of our possessions and the extension of your investments. It is therefore our pleasure that the annual allowance of nine laaks which he has hitherto enjoyed be no longer continued to him; but, as the minority of the Nabob will make it requisite for you to appoint as his guardian a person of experience in the affairs of government and of approved attachment to the Company's interests, your choice must rest on Mahomet Reza Cawn; and you are to allow him, whilst in that station, a salary of five laaks of rupees per annum, which we consider not only as suitable to such station but as a munificent reward for the services he may render the Company in the execution of his office.

41. The annual allowance of Juggut Seat as assistant to Mahomet Reza Cawn has been a drain on our revenues without the least benefit from his administration, for we are well assured that he has never afforded us a single instance of service: his allowance therefore must be immediately struck off.

But with regard to Roydolub, though we cannot expect any services equal to his present appointment, yet in consideration of the part he has long held in the affairs of government and his advanced age, we are disposed to continue the salary he now enjoys ; but on his death this allowance is not to be given to any person whatsoever.

42. As the reduction of the Nabob's stipend is adventitious and temporary, we by no means intend that the commission of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent granted to our servants on our nett territorial revenues should be increased by this alteration ; and therefore the former stipend of thirty-six laacks must still be deducted from the gross amount of those revenues. In like manner no commission must be drawn on the sums which may be retrenched from the appointments to the Nabob's Ministers.

43. Having already apprized you of the purposes to which we mean to appropriate the savings above mentioned, we have only to direct that when the Navy and Army Donations, the debt due to Bolackidass, and the stipulated payment to Juggut Seat, shall have been wholly satisfied and reimbursed to us out of the aggregate reductions beforementioned, such further sums as shall arise therefrom are to be applied from time to time to clear the balance unpaid to the claimants of the Restitution Fund, and the donation of two laacks to Colonel Munro, in such proportions as the respective claims may bear to each other, until the whole shall be discharged ; but you are to take notice that the principal only of the sums due from the *Circar* are to be considered and allowed in the payments here ordered.

44. The advantages which must accrue to the Company from the residence of the King within our provinces are both in the view of economy and sound policy too obvious to need any illustration. This object therefore exacts your most serious attention and requires every judicious effort which can improve his confidence in our attachment to him and thereby the better engage his compliance with our wishes in this respect.

45. As this point is equally delicate and important we recommend to you to lay hold of the first favourable opportunity which shall offer for an overture to the King on this subject, in which we doubt not but your judgment will suggest to you the expediency of representing all the benefits His Majesty will find from having the forces of the Company nearer his person and ready to unite on any occasion in support of our alliance with him, without being obliged to march through the territories of any one who may be disposed to take advantage of our situation in any accidental circumstance of weakness and distress. To this plea must be added the ill effects of the continued drains of the specie of Bengal on account of his annual tribute, which when carried beyond our possessions must in a great degree be lost to the necessary circulation, and may prevent that punctuality in our remittances which we have hitherto maintained, and may in time wholly incapacitate us from fulfilling the stipulation we are so desirous to preserve inviolate.

46. These and such further arguments as shall appear most conducive to the end will, we hope, prevail on the King to establish his residence at Rajahmaul or Mongheer' or such other place within the provinces as may be

thought most proper for the purpose and most likely to preserve to us that influence which is so essential to the Company's welfare

47. The political interests of the Company make us no less solicitous to obtain from Soujah Dowlah an exchange of the territories of Bulwan Sing for the provinces of Khorah and Allahabad, now held for the King, since by such an exchange our frontiers would be more easily defended, a greater influence would be preserved by us over the neighbouring powers, and we might possibly be relieved from the necessity of keeping up so large and expensive a military establishment as we have at present in Bengal.

48. We are not insensible of the difficulties which may oppose your negotiations on this subject. These however, we persuade ourselves, may in time be overcome by a proper attention on the part of our servants and by their availing themselves of the circumstances which may occur either in the situation, desires, projects, temper, or wants of this prince : and we recommend to you to lay hold of every opportunity which may offer for accomplishing by a friendly negotiation so desirable an end.

49. There is another object of the most essential consequence which calls for the utmost exercise of your abilities, we mean the obtaining from Soujah Dowlah the absolute cession to us of the fort of Chunargur.

50. As we have experienced the strength of this fortress and are sensible of the vast importance the possession of it would be to the Company, you must use your utmost endeavours to acquire by friendly means what could not be retained without violence. We therefore enjoin you not to leave un-essayed any effort which prudence can suggest for obtaining from Soujah Dowlah the cession of Chunargur Fort. But as our view is to acquire it by treaty not by force, and considering also the situation, power and influence of this *Subah*, your negotiations must be conducted with the greatest caution and delicacy, and you must strive by every fair and honourable means to strengthen his friendship and engage his confidence ; nevertheless you must not abate of your attention to all his motions, nor forego any opportunity to impress him with an opinion of our activity and power.

51. And here we take occasion to observe that should we at any time obtain from him the cession of this fortress you must not fail to keep in it a strong garrison of Europeans under the command of an able and experienced officer which such possession would enable you to do, since the security which our possessions would thereby receive would admit of a reduction in our other garrisons.

52. Sensible of the difficulties which opposed your endeavours to obtain the removal of Monsieur Gentil^a from the Court and Councils of Sujah Dowlah, we approve of the delicacy with which you have acted towards the Vizier in your requisitions on this subject. But as we cannot see a person of the abilities of Mr. Gentil (a natural enemy of this nation as well as of the Company) continuing in possession of a power to promote the designs of France and not be alarmed for the consequences of his influence at the *Subah's* court, you must therefore lay hold of the first favourable opportunity to renew your request to Sujah Dowlah to remove Mr. Gentil from his service.

53. From the tenderness and caution observed in your former applications to the Vizier we cannot doubt but that you will conduct yourselves with equal

circumspection in any future occasion, more especially as the other interesting points which you will have to transact with him rend[er] it essentially necessary for you to conciliate his affections and engage his confidence in our alliance, whereby he may be the more readily disposed to comply with our desires respecting other important objects as well as the dismissal of Monsieur Gentil.

54. Your representation of the distressed state of the surviving family of Suffraz Cawn^b has excited in us so great compassion for them on account of the present reverse of the former splendor and affluence that we assent to the addition of one thousand rupees per month which you have made to the allowance before granted to that family on the reservation of their *talook* to the sole use and benefit of the Company.

55. As the re-annexing to the revenues of the *Circar* the *jaghire* of rupees 22,000 per annum which had been settled on Mahrajah Dirge Narain has reduced him to a state of indigence, we are inclined from the like motive of compassion to turn our view from that mismanagement which occasioned his present unhappy circumstances. In consideration therefore of his distress and the services which his brother Ram Narain hath rendered the Company we assent also to the allowance of rupees 1,200 per month granted by you to the Mahrajah for his support.

Fifthly, of fortifications, buildings, and revenues

56. With respect to the present state of your fortifications we feel a sensible pleasure from the information you have given us that the progress made therein since the arrival of your Chief Engineer Lieutenant Colonel Campbell promises a speedy conclusion of a work which has been carried on for so many years and has so greatly contributed to exhaust our treasury in Bengal; but as we have reason to apprehend that time as well as treasure may still be wanting to render the new fort defensible against any considerable European force your Chief Engineer must confine his view to the works already undertaken and which may be most essential to an immediate defence. These are to be executed with all possible dispatch, but no additions to your fortifications by outwards [works] or otherwise are to be entered upon without our express permission.

57. Your Consultations of 13th July 1769 afford us at once a subject of surprize and concern, for we thereby find that the new fort, formed on so large a plan and after such a length of time and drain of treasure for the compleating it, is still incapable to lodge the officers of one brigade and of the detachment returned from the Coast. We however hope that the want of sufficient lodging for our civil and military servants is not owing to a greater number of rooms than what is absolutely necessary being allowed to one person; but should this be the case you must no longer gratify private persons in a desire of extensive accommodations while we are involved in great expenses for the quarters of military officers as well as house rent for our civil establishment.

58. As the allowances you have made to officers whom you may not be able to quarter in the fort are represented to be a cheaper mode than providing houses for them we acquiesce therein, and have only to require that you accommodate with lodging in the fort as many officers as can be supplied therewith,

and that no person do receive the stated allowance of his particular rank merely by reason of its being more agreeable to him than the accommodations of your garrison.

59. Having considered the application which Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, your Chief Engineer, has made to us by the channel of your letter of 25th September, 1769 for obtaining the like annuity as had been given to Mr. Robbins and Colonel Scot, it gives us great concern to find that he should have formed a desire with which we do not think ourselves justified to comply.

60. On our appointment of Lieutenant Colonel Campbell to be Chief Engineer at your Presidency we imagined that we had prevented any expectation of such an indulgence by our declaring that it was not our intention to grant any annuity of this kind. We therefore persuade ourselves that he will not deem our continuing in this opinion as proceeding from any disregard to him or inattention to his abilities, for though we cannot gratify any hopes which Lieutenant Colonel Campbell may have entertained in respect to such indulgence, yet the zeal he has shown for the Company's interest in his careful and judicious examination of the works carried on by the French round Chandernagore and his assiduity in executing our fortifications in Calcutta afford us a pleasure in testifying our approbation of his conduct.

61. We therefore direct that you present Lieutenant Colonel Campbell with a sum out of the Company's cash which shall be to the amount of one thousand pounds sterling as an acknowledgement of his good and faithful services and an encouragement to his persevering therein for the completion of the fortifications committed to his management; and we have such confidence in his integrity and honour that we assure ourselves he will continue to render us those essential services which his abilities as an engineer so well qualify him to perform.

62. The extent and importance of the Company's possessions have made us solicitous to obtain a general chart of India, but we must be greatly obstructed in such a design while the maps and charts we receive from our several Presidencies are drawn upon scales dissimilar to each other; and as the fixing one certain scale will greatly facilitate the formation of a general chart, we shall direct our servants at our different Presidencies that their general maps must in future be formed on a scale of three inches to a degree, and all particular surveys of districts or provinces on scales of six or twelve inches to a degree, as may be thought most proper for the purpose. By these means the separate charts will be reduced more easily to a general one. You are therefore to give the necessary directions for the due observance of this regulation at your Presidency.

63. The coinage of Bengal is a visible source of fraud and imposition, and the inconveniences arising from the absurd distinction of *siccas* and *sunnaut* rupees must have been severely felt by the natives and have contributed to destroy the vigour and activity of trade. But as we have already explained ourselves fully on this subject, and as our President and Council in their late advices have assured us they will carry into execution our repeated orders for the abilation of *batta* on *sonnauts* we hope to be soon informed that this incitement to rapine and oppression has been totally removed.

64. It is with pleasure we observe that the appointment of Supervisors to

examine into the state of the provinces (under the instructions which our late President has with so much judgment and fulness laid down for their guidance) may be productive of so general a reformation of the abuses which are the immediate objects of our concern that we have little to add to our preceding orders and regulations. We therefore wait with impatience for the issue of the Supervisors' researches, in full hope that our President and Council will have adopted such measures as shall unite with our views not only for the Company's interests but for the good of a country from which we receive so great advantages.

65. As we have reason to believe that many *buzars* are held in the provinces without the authority of Government and which must be an infringement of its rights, a great detriment to the publick collections, and a burthen and oppression on the inhabitants, you will take care that no *buzars* or *gunges* be kept up but such as particularly belong to the Government. But in such *buzars* or *gunges* the duties are to be rated in such manner as their situations and the flourishing state of the respective districts will admit.

66. As we have often recommended an enquiry to be made into the balances said to have been incurred by Mahomud Reza Cawn while renter of the *chuckla* of Dacca, and observing that no effectual enquiry has yet taken place, we have been induced to trace the subject so far as the lights of which we are possessed enable us to investigate the same. And in the first place we find that Mahomud Reza Cawn agreed to pay for the year 1762 Rs. 38,86,242, of which were received only 29,63,281. In the next year Mahomud Reza Cawn pleads that an abatement was agreed to be made of about 12 laacks, but as the sum said to have been received is only six laacks this seems to leave another balance of upwards of twenty laacks.

67. If the whole charge against Mahomud Reza Cawn be true the unadjusted balances seem to be upwards of forty laacks of rupees. If the abatement be allowed which is pleaded by Mahomud Reza Cawn it would reduce the said balance to about thirty laacks of rupees. Although it cannot be supposed that the materials from whence the above statement is collected are so explicit, or that they are an authority sufficient to warrant a positive determination of any specifick sum being due from Mahomud Reza Cawn to the *Circar*, they are nevertheless an undoubted proof that he has not fully accounted for the very considerable sums abovementioned.

68. We therefore cannot but deem you deficient in not having given the above subject a proper investigation, and we expect that you will with all convenient dispatch take such steps as may enable you to inform us fully whether any and what sums ought in justice to be demanded of Mahomud Reza Cawn on account of the above unadjusted balances. And as the object is important we direct that you do not fail to transmit us a full explanation of the manner in which the accounts in question were settled by some of the dispatches of the next season.

69. The repeated accounts we have received of the excessive drought which has so long continued throughout the provinces affects us with the utmost concern for the consequences which are to be feared from it, for while we lament the distresses to which the inhabitants may be reduced thereby, we cannot divest ourselves of anxious apprehensions concerning the effects

which a continuance of the drought may have on the collections of our revenues. However, as we are willing to hope that this calamity will not extend to any great degree, it affords us some consolation to find that your collection had not at the time of your advices suffered any considerable diminution.

Sixthly and seventhly, of covenant and military servants, and accounts

70. The names of the writers we have appointed this season for your Presidency as noticed in our letter of the 4th January last are as follow, and they are to rank in the undermentioned order *vizt.* William Wadsworth, Alexander Kynynmount Elliott, Richard Goodlad, Thomas Dugald Campbell, James Chollet, William Cator, William Douglas, Augustus Cleveland, William Webber, William Chalmers, John Perring, William Dickson, Benjamin Aplin, Henry Vansittart, John Lowes, Richard Lodge, John Davis, Henry Scott. Henry Leake, Cosby Burrowes, John Covert.

71. Mr. Henry Vansittart Junior abovementioned is appointed a writer in the room of Mr. Arthur Vansittart as advised in our letter of the 15th September, 1769, paragraph 13.

72. Messieurs William Cator, John Perring and Richard Lodge being now abroad, their covenants are sent in the *Rochford's* packet, and they must be properly executed and transmitted to us by the first ship.

73. We have permitted Mr. John Dynely, whom we appointed a writer last season but who was then on his passage to England, to return to his station as advised in our letter of the 7th December, 1769, paragraph 9.

74. We have reconsidered the case of Mr. Nicholas Grueber relative to nine thousand rupees expended by him at Buddaul without the leave of the Governor and Council; and although we are still of opinion that Mr. Grueber was unjustifiable in that step, yet as the warehouses were deemed absolutely necessary by his successor and have been ever since they were built appropriated to the Company's service and occupied for the use of the investment, we direct that Mr. Grueber be repaid the 9,000 rupees so expended, and that you inform us whether any and what rent has been paid to Mr. N. Grueber for the use of the said warehouses since the Company have had them in their possession.

75. Upon the perusal of Mr. Lloyd's representation¹⁶ and request and on considering the circumstances relative thereunto we are sorry to be obliged to observe that the statement of his case does not appear to have been made with such accuracy as the nature of the subject required. We should be inclined to yield relief to Mr. Lloyd had it fairly appeared that the loss and inconvenience which he sustained were rendered unavoidable by measures which our Governor and Council deemed for the good of the service and necessary to be carried into execution; but as the Select Committee's resolution to prohibit trading into Shougah Dowla's dominions was six weeks before Mr. Lloyd bought the lead, and as orders in consequence thereof were published by the Council one week before the sale began, of which sale a month's notice had been given, we cannot but be of opinion that all pleas of ignorance on the part of Mr. Lloyd are ill grounded,

76. If it be true that the promise mentioned by Mr. Lloyd was made by Mr. Alexander, Mr. Lloyd ought to have availed himself of such circumstance, and pleaded that promise immediately and not twenty months after the transaction happened. Mr. Alexander, we think, could hardly be indiscreet enough to have so lightly treated a solemn order of Council formed when he was himself present at the Board : yet should this have been the case Mr. Lloyd must have been very imprudent to listen thereto. But, as Mr. Alexander was absent from the Presidency at the time when Mr. Lloyd preferred his memorial and therefore had no opportunity of refuting the assertion, we direct that you do inform yourselves of the truth of this circumstance ; and if it should appear that assurance was given by Mr. Alexander to Mr. Lloyd that he should have leave to act in direct opposition to publick orders, then and in such case, we direct that Mr. Alexander do make compensation for the loss sustained by the resale of the lead ; otherwise Mr. Lloyd must himself be responsible for the same, for we do not conceive it to be a case wherein the Company ought in any degree to relax from the terms of the first sale.

77. As in the salary assigned to Mr. Darell on our appointing him to the post of Sub-Accountant at your Presidency we were guided by a supposition that the office of Accountant would always be held by a member of Council, we are therefore to inform you that should Mr. Darell have succeeded to the post of Accountant in consequence of our orders of last season that no councillor was to hold any office, he is not thereby entitled to any greater emoluments than we have allowed him. You are therefore not to increase those emoluments without our permission, as we reserve to ourselves the power of granting to our servants such rewards as their diligence and good conduct may deserve.

78. We have appointed the reverend Mr. William Johnson to be one of your chaplains with the allowance settled in our letter of the 11th November, 1768, paragraph 79. We have lent him £100 to be repaid out of his growing salary, agreeable to the tenor of the enclosed bond.

79. We are informed by our Governor and Council of Fort Marlbro' that the Reverend Mr. Baines has left his chaplainship there and is gone either to Fort Saint George or Bengal. We can only suppose his view is to obtain the office of chaplain at one of those Presidencies ; but as this instance of Mr. Baines's conduct is entirely opposite to our inclination and to our strict orders for preventing our servants roving about India and is also subversive of our authority in making such appointments, we therefore hereby positively direct that if Mr. Baines shall be in Bengal upon the receipt hereof he is to be acquainted that he must either return to his duty on the West Coast or be dismissed the service and take passage for Europe on the first ship. Orders to the like effect we have sent to our servants at Fort St. George.

80. We have also been informed that Lieutenant Colonel Egerton and Captain Lockhart Russell¹¹ of our Bombay establishment are gone to Fort St. George. Should they come to your Presidency it is our positive order that they do return immediately to their stations at Bombay as the nature of our service will not allow our military officers to go from one settlement to another in this manner except with a view of restoring their health, the state of which should always be certified by the surgeons,

81. The unexpected circumstance of so long a period having passed since the departure of our Commissioners from the Cape of Good Hope without our receiving any intelligence of their arrival in any part of India affects us with the deepest concern and alarms us with fears in regard to their personal safety. But though we are still desirous of entertaining hopes that no fatal accident has befallen them, yet in this unhappy state of suspense we must not suffer the important objects of their commission to remain without operation or effect by reason of their absence, whatever may have been the cause of it.

82. We therefore transmit to you such parts of the original instructions to our Superintending Commissioners as relate to the affairs of your Presidency, and in case you shall have no reason to expect their speedy arrival the same must be carried into execution by you in your respective departments in as effectual a manner as if those instructions had been specially directed to you.

83. Having reason to believe the great number of persons now residing in India under our license as free merchants and free mariners are not only burthensome to the Company but to many of our civil servants, we have restrained any from going out this year under those licenses except Mr. Joseph Fowke, who was born at Fort Saint George and many years in Council there and behaved in a very satisfactory manner, to whom we have granted permission to reside in India under free merchants' covenants. But we have permitted Mr. Charles Simpson, a native of Vizagapatam, to return to Fort Saint George; and likewise Mr. Charles Stafford Playdell, late one of your Council, who was obliged in consequence of our orders to come to Europe and left his affairs much perplexed, to return to Bengal and remain three years to collect his outstanding concerns. We have also permitted Mr. Charles Feake, a native of Bengal, to return thither.

84. In order to determine your powers for sending home persons who may have infringed the rights of the Company or acted in defiance of the authority vested by us in our servants, we herewith transmit in duplicate to our President and Council a particular power or commission under the Company's seal for that purpose; and as you will thereby see how far our servants are justified in seizing and sending to England any of His Majesty's subjects who may violate the rights and privileges granted to the Company by sundry acts of Parliament, we refer you to the same for your guidance.

85. To remedy several defects in the engagements which have been formerly entered into with us by our servants both civil and military, and by surgeons, free merchants, free mariners, and others, that are now or may hereafter be employed by the Company or permitted to reside in India under our license and protection, we have thought proper (with the advice of our Standing Council and Solicitor) to add some clauses to the covenants usually entered into by the civil and military servants and free merchants in order to restrain them from assisting foreign companies or supplying country powers with warlike stores and to prevent them from remaining in India beyond a time limited after proper notice given them to depart.

86. With the same view we have thought it necessary that all surgeons and free mariners should enter into covenants with the Company nearly to the like effect as the restrictive clauses abovementioned.

87. But that all our civil and military servants and surgeons or assistant surgeons as likewise free merchants and free mariners now in India may be put upon an equality in their covenant engagements with the Company with those who shall go from England this season or hereafter, we now send you by the ship *Colebrooke* such a number of covenants as upon a calculate made we deem sufficient to be entered into by the persons under the above descriptions that may be employed in or reside at or under our Presidency of Bengal upon the receipt of these advices. And it is our positive order and direction that each of the above described persons be, so soon after the *Colebrooke's* arrival as convenient, required to sign one of the said covenants according to the rank and station he may be in. And should any person refuse a compliance with this our order, if he is in our service he must be dismissed therefrom and sent home, or if one under our protection such protection is to be withdrawn from him and the person so refusing to be sent to England.

88. In the above paragraph you will observe we have directed one covenant to be executed by each person, which covenant after being executed and witnessed by two persons as to the sealing and delivery by the party, and by one person as to the covenanter having previously read the same, must be forwarded to us by the first conveyance after execution. And upon our receiving the same and security being given by two persons here in the undermentioned sums set against the respective stations, we shall transmit a counterpart of each covenant with the Company's seal affixed thereto, which counterpart you must duly deliver to the party concerned. And here it is needful to observe that you must enjoin each person to desire two responsible persons in England to enter into the above security bonds.

The bond for the Governor is to be in.	£10,000.
Each councillor.	4,000.
Each senior merchant.	3,000.
Each junior merchant.	2,000.
Each factor.	1,000.
Each writer.	500.
Each surgeon or assistant surgeon.	1,000.
Each free merchant.	2,000.
Each free mariner.	500.

89. And for your fuller information in this matter and to prevent mistakes in filling up we have forwarded in the packet by the *Colebrooke* copies of the covenants to be entered into by the respective persons above mentioned.

90. As you have already signified to the Commander in Chief the sense you entertained of the improper application made by the military officers to General Smith¹³ on his departure from India, we forbear to pass a more severe censure upon Sir Robert Barker on that account; nevertheless we cannot but much resent such conduct in our said military officers. We consider their said proceedings as an indirect attack upon our own honour and impartiality. We are ever ready to lend the most favourable ear to all proper applications made directly to us by any of our servants and to yield such redress as the nature of the case may require; but we can never approve the formal appointment of any person whatever to remonstrate to us on such

subjects, more especially ^{as} a particular influence with us must be supposed necessary to induce us to do an act of justice by removing all well-grounded complaints from those of our servants who may suppose themselves aggrieved by the appointment of officers sent out from England by the Court of Directors.

91. We cannot suppress our indignation at your conduct in the appointment of Sir Robert Barker to be a Brigadier General in the Company's service upon the resignation of General Smith. And we are constrained to observe that in this appointment you are so far from having any excuse that the reasons you have assigned for it are too futile to require a reply. We are the more displeased at this insult on our authority as it might have taken from us the full effects of our own spontaneous desire to give Sir Robert Barker a testimony of our sense of his merit.

92. But as by our commission of Brigadier General which we last year transmitted to Sir Robert Barker he will be sensible that we did not stand in need of having a path pointed out to us for shewing our approbation of his conduct, we shall not hesitate to assert our own authority; and we therefore hereby annul the commission of Brigadier General which you have given him, and you are accordingly to take notice that Sir Robert Barker is to bear that rank from the date of our commission only.

93. To free ourselves in future from the irksome necessity of annulling any appointment of field officers which shall not have been made with our permission, we positively direct that you do not at any time take upon yourselves to advance any Commander in Chief to the rank of Brigadier General or appoint any colonel to be Commander in Chief, but the colonel succeeding to such command is to act as provisional Commander in Chief until you shall be informed of our pleasure in this respect. And we further order that the like rule be observed in regard to all other field officers who in case of succession by any vacancy must be appointed provisionally to the next superior rank until the same shall be confirmed by us.

94. We have considered the request made to you by Lieutenant Colonel Champion to be allowed a share in the commission on your nett territorial revenues granted by us to our civil and military servants. And we must here observe that the plea he has urged for share in that commission from 1st September, 1768, does not afford him the least title to such an indulgence, since it cannot be expected that such gratuities should be given to any officer before his arrival at your Presidency, however involuntary his stay in England might have been. You will therefore inform Lieutenant Colonel Champion that we cannot comply with his request.

95. From the trust we have in the abilities and good conduct of Lieutenant Colonel Chapman we approve of your appointing him Colonel of the Second Brigade on the resignation of General Smith, as the command devolved upon him in the regular order of succession.

96. We cannot but be displeased at your having appointed Major Thomas Dean Pearse to the command of the artillery on the death of Lieutenant Colonel Kindersley, although you were in possession of our orders
 * Par. 55. of the 17th March, 1769,* wherein we expressly declared that Lieutenant Colonel Winwood was to succeed thereto upon the first vacancy after his arrival. Yet in consideration of the abilities of Major Pearse

we do confirm your appointment, but positively direct that Lieutenant Colonel Winwood do succeed to the chief command of the artillery upon the death or coming away of Lieutenant Colonel Pearse; otherwise we shall highly resent a repetition of your disregard to our orders.

97. On observing your appointment of Captain Du Gloss to be a Major upon brevet we cannot but be dissatisfied at your assuming a power to bestow such favours or distinctions as decency required you to submit to our determination. However, the long and faithful services of Captain Du Gloss and his approved merit have induced us to continue to him the rank he has received from your appointment; but as we shall not admit of your exceeding our establishment of engineers Captain Du Gloss must remain a brevet Major until he shall succeed to the rank of full Major on a vacancy of such in the Corps of Engineers.

98. By the *Duke of Grafton* we received a list of military officers at your Presidency, but it is by no means conformable to our instructions of the 19th February 1762.* We therefore hereby direct that you

* Par. 52.
send us every season in duplicate at least lists drawn out agreeable to the said orders.

99. There must also accompany the said list another specifying the promotions in your military drawn out in columns in the following manner, *vizt.* in the first the names, in the second the rank, in the third the date of their rank, and in the fourth in whose room and upon what account, agreeable to the enclosed form; and we expect that before the dispatch of our shipping for Europe the Secretary call upon the Town Major for his lists of military officers, muster rolls, and lists of promotions, and he must be informed that if he shall neglect to send his lists in time we shall think him no longer worthy to be continued in that post.

100. Upon examining into the state of your military officers we find the number of field officers greatly exceeds your establishment. We therefore direct that all above three colonels of infantry (including the Commander in Chief), six lieutenant colonels of infantry, one of artillery, and the lieutenant colonel of engineers, six majors of infantry, three of seapoys, one of artillery, and one of engineers, are to be looked upon as supernumeraries, and no promotions must be made till they are provided for, as we are determined that the above establishment shall not be exceeded on any pretence whatsoever.

101. As it frequently happens that you permit field and other officers to come to England for the recovery of their health and upon their leaving India have filled up their commissions whereby our military establishment upon the return of those officers has been exceeded and the Company's expense thereby greatly increased, in order to avoid this evil, we direct that you do not fill up any vacant commissions which shall happen by field or other officers coming to Europe for their health or otherwise with your permission, but that the officers next below them do perform their duty until their return or your receiving our orders to the contrary.

102. And we also direct that all officers who shall obtain your permission for coming to England for their health or otherwise shall signify to you whether they intend to return to India, in which case you are to acquaint them that their pay is to cease from the time of their requesting to come to Europe

until their return, and you must also signify to such officers that we expect upon their arrival in England they do request our permission for remaining here, otherwise we shall look upon such neglect as a resignation of the service and shall fill up their commissions accordingly.

103. With respect to such officers who may throw up their commissions in order to make their applications to us for redress of real or imaginary grievances and to be re-admitted into our service, we have so fully explained ourselves (in our General Letter of the 23d December, 1762, Paragraph 46) on the conduct you are to pursue on such occasions that we shall here only require you to advert to those orders and pay a strict obedience thereto.

104. Upon considering the cases of Captains Benjamin Wilding and George Boulton Eyres we have thought proper to restore them to their original ranks on your military establishment, the former as Lieutenant Colonel next below Lieutenant Colonel Winwood and the latter as Major next under Major Frederick Thomas Smith; but they are to be paid the usual pay of captains only untill the field officers serving under the Presidency shall be reduced to the number mentioned in the 100th paragraph; and when they shall enjoy those ranks by such reduction, they are to have the full pay and emoluments, the former as Lieutenant Colonel and the latter as Major.

105. We have also induced to readmit Captain John Nevil Parker into our service and have accordingly appointed him to be a Captain in your infantry to rank next below Captain James Holme.

106. Captains James Skinner and Charles Maverly who came to Europe to recover their healths and which being restored they are permitted to return to their duty in the ranks they held when they left Bengal, *vizt.* Captain Skinner next under Captain William Hessman and Captain Maverly next beneath Captain Gabriel Johnston.

107. We have permitted Captain John Prise Gwinnet, who came to England with your license, to return to his rank next below Captain John Edmonstone, and he took passage on the *Rochford*.

108. Captain Gwinnet has presented to us a plan for the better regulating our seapoy corps, copy of which is enclosed, and which you will examine taking to your assistance the Commander in Chief and some other of our principal officers and report the whole of your proceedings to us; but you are not to carry any regulations which shall increase our military establishment into execution untill you receive our further directions.

109. We have very maturely considered your proceedings upon the restoration of Captains Goddard and Ahmuty to the ranks they held before the association of the officers in 1766¹³; and it appears to us not only as improper measure but very injurious to those officers who had a just sense of their duty and did not join in the association, and also to those who were sent from Fort St.-George and Bombay to your assistance at that critical time under the assurance that they should not be superceded. But as it appears contrary to all military order that an officer once raised to a superior should serve in an inferior rank without a breach of honour, and having a favorable opinion of the merits of Captains Goddard and Ahmuty, we do agree to their continuing in the ranks you placed them on the 16th December, 1769; but we direct that they receive the pay and allowances of captains only until the

field officers serving under your Presidency shall be reduced to the establishment of six lieutenant colonels and nine majors of infantry and sepoy, when they are to enjoy full pay and emoluments, the former as lieutenant colonel and the latter as major. Yet we are greatly displeased at the liberty you took in promoting those gentlemen when your military establishment was compleat, from whence the Company has been put to great expense.

110. Lieutenant John Mattocks, late an officer on your establishment who was a party in the association of officers in 1766, having expressed great contrition for his conduct, and as no other imputation appearing against his character, we have been induced to readmit him into the service, and hereby appoint him to rank next under the youngest lieutenant of infantry at your Presidency on his arrival.

111. We have given the strictest attention to the whole of your proceedings in regard to the charge brought against Major John Graham,¹⁴ and we are sorry you should have given us occasion to remark that the behaviour of that gentleman appears not to have merited the severity of censure with which you represented his conduct in your letters of 25 September 1769, and much less to have made it necessary for you to dismiss him our service. For although we are fully sensible of the expediency of preserving a strict subordination and discipline in the army, of enforcing the deference and respect due to the Commander in Chief, and of supporting the authority of your Board, yet in the case of Major Graham we cannot but be of opinion that these essential points might have been obtained without recourse to the supreme power with which you are vested, and which you express yourselves so unwilling to employ.

112. The reluctance we have to testify our disapprobation of any part of your transactions without explaining the reasons of it constrains us to take a minute view of the charge against Major Graham, and we find that he had been censured by your Board for failing in respect to his Commander in Chief at Allahabad by his letters of the 26th and 28th March, 1769, and that he was afterwards required to make concessions to the Council and the Commander in Chief for disrespect to both by his request of the 22d June that the letters for which in general orders he had been censured might also be inserted in general orders to prevent the injury of misconstruction of the charge against him.

113. Without entering here into a disquisition how far the apology Major Graham made for any warmth of expression contained in his letters might have attoned for any offence of that nature, we shall only observe that as (when the same had been deemed by you insufficient) Major Graham cheerfully consented to make the precise concessions both to your Board and the Commander in Chief which you had proposed to him, we must consider him as having thereby made requisite attonement for the misdemeanor with which he had been charged.

114. By adverting to your Consultations of the 21st September, 1769, we indeed find that Major Graham was dismissed not for the original charge of want of respect to his Commander in Chief and to your Board, but for insisting that his letter of the 17th of that month which contained his defence should accompany the accusation against him, and both be submitted to us, unless

your Board would condescend to the suppression of both. And as this requisition appears to us too reasonable to have been rejected we know not how you will free yourselves from the imputation of partiality in the present instance.

115. Upon the whole, as you have allowed that at all times before this dispute you had reason to be satisfied with Major Graham's conduct, and as since dismissal we have regretted the loss which our military service has thereby sustained and have given him an honourable testimonial that during his continuance in the service he had in every other point demeaned himself as became a gentleman and a good and gallant officer, we have thought fit to restore Majore Graham to his station in the Company's service without prejudice to his rank. We have also permitted him to remain in England till next season for the recovery of his health.

116. Mr. Francis Robertson, late an ensign at your Presidency, and sent home for being deeply concerned in the association of the military officers in 1766 and afterwards resisted the Company's authority, having found means to return to India in a French ship, we therefore positively direct that if he shall be in Bengal upon the receipt hereof you do send him to England forthwith as we will not admit of any military officers remaining in Bengal who have been dismissed the service, and we send similar directions to our other Presidencies.

117. As we experience a particular satisfaction in being able with justice to applaud the conduct of any of our servants, we cannot pass unnoticed the very gallant conduct of Captain Robert Brooke during the time he served in the detachment sent by you to the assistance of our Presidency of Fort Saint George, and we direct that you do not only signify to him our approbation of his conduct but that you embrace every opportunity of yielding him such advantageous marks of your favour as the rules of the service can possibly intitle him to expect or render it prudent for you to afford.

118. In the same light we view the distinguished merit of Captain Gabriel Harper. You will therefore communicate to that officer the favourable sentiments we entertain of his abilities, zeal and alacrity for our service, and assure him that we rest confident they will at all times be fully exerted in promoting the interests of the Company, and particularly in facilitating the accomplishment of our views with respect to the measures necessary to be pursued during his residence in the dominions of the King or Shujah Dowlah.

119. As we do not send any commissioned military officers to your Presidency this season except such are permitted to return to their duty, we appointed eighty-seven cadets whose ranks will appear by the lists in these ships' packets, and who, we doubt not, will be sufficient to fill up all your casualties.

120. From a conviction of the necessity of keeping our armies in India on a respectable footing we have and shall send about fourteen hundred recruits for our military by the ships of this season, and although we design four hundred and fifty thereof for your establishment, five hundred for Fort St. George, and 450 for Bombay, yet we doubt not, when you consider the general good of the service, you will dispose of those ordered for your Presidency in such manner as may be consistent therewith.

121. We have directed the commanders of our several ships to cause the recruits to be exercised at the small arms at all convenient opportunities during

the voyage, not only with a view that the men should in some measure be disciplined on their landing in India but as the means of preserving their health, for which end a chest of small arms and a barrel of gunpowder are sent in every ship, and in most ships either a cadet or non-commissioned officer who is sufficiently acquainted with the use of arms to instruct the recruits in their exercise. You will therefore enquire on the arrival of every ship whether the men have been taught their manual exercise in the outward bound voyage and otherwise properly disciplined as far as circumstances would admit of, and advise us with the result of such your enquiry.

122. Gerard Napper, who went out as a recruit in 1757 and by your last muster roll was a serjeant of infantry at your Presidency, having been represented to us as a person of family, you are therefore, if his conduct has been to your satisfaction, to appoint him a cadet in your infantry to rank as the youngest cadet of this season.

123. The friends of John Fryzer, a soldier in the Second Battalion of the Second Regiment and in Captain Catland's company, having requested his discharge, we have consented thereto as he has served his contracted time, provided he has not agreed to serve for an additional term.

124. As in the absence of the colonel of a brigade the expense of keeping a table falls on the acting Commanding Officer it is a matter of wonder that there should have been a doubt whether the established allowance for a table should remain to the colonel when absent by leave, at which time he could not be subject to the charges for which such allowance was established. But as we find by your Consultation 14th November 1769, that you have very properly determined that this allowance is to be paid during the absence of the colonel to the acting Commanding Officer of the brigade, we have only to enjoin you to take care that your orders in this respect be duly observed on all occasions.

125. As we are informed that it has been customary for the Commander in Chief of our troops to receive duties from the *buzar*, imposed either on the *sutlers* who follow the army for the liberty of keeping shops or stalls, or on the merchandizes or provision they expose to sale, and when we consider the distresses and inconveniences which have heretofore attended our troops either for want of provisions there being bad or sold at an advanced price, and as we conceive it is not sensible to ascertain any precise rule whereby to determine when it may or may not be prudent for the Commander in Chief to levy or forbear to impose such duties, we cannot but be of opinion that all duties whatever imposed directly or indirectly on provisions brought to camp were better remitted as impolitick, tending to discourage country people from yielding us all that assistance they otherwise might do if permitted to sell provisions duty free, and consequently contributing towards advancing their price in camp to a greater height than otherwise might be needful, more especially as such duties are, as far as appears to us, indeterminate, and laid and levied solely at the will and pleasure of the Commander in Chief or some of his servants, which must in some degree render the price of provisions dependent on his disposition, and the proprietor cannot know whether it may answer his purpose to bring provisions to our camp or not before he arrives therein. We therefore hereby direct that no duty, tax or imposition whatever shall at any time be

levied or taken by the Commander in Chief or by any person for him or by any other person or persons on any pretence whatever on or for any provisions and necessaries brought by any person or persons with intent to sell the same to our soldiers, seepoys, or other our servants when encamped or otherwise in the field or marching to or from any place or places in time of war or for the liberty and privilege of erecting and keeping any shop or stall in the *buzar* or attending our camp for the sale of provisions and necessaries only : and that no merchant or any other person whatever be on any account compelled to sell rice or other necessary provisions to any contractor or other person, but that they be fully at liberty to sell the same in the public *buzar* without any lett hinderance or molestation whatever : and that this our order be made as publick as possible that all persons as well our servants as the natives of the country may be fully informed thereof and act accordingly ; provided always and we hereby direct that this order shall not extend to give privilege to any person or persons to sell or otherwise vend any sort of spirituous liquors whatever to any of our servants in camp, or to repeal or alter any orders heretofore made by any of our Presidents and Council or otherwise for preventing the sale or consumption of spirituous liquors to or by any persons in our service, but any such order or orders as have heretofore been made for regulating the sale of spirituous liquors shall remain notwithstanding this our order in full force. And we further direct that the Commander in Chief do at all times afford due protection to all persons who may bring provisions with intent to sell them to our troops as aforesaid.

126. The license you have taken in respect to the terms on which you have received money into our treasury for bills to be drawn on us to the amount of upwards of twenty laaks of rupees in direct opposition to our orders of 30th June, 1769, fills us at once with surprize and indignation. And we are little less affected by the cursory, yet determinate, manner in which you inform us that you had preferred your own scheme of remittance as more advantageous and less distressing to us than that we had directed you to pursue. But here, could we pass unnoticed your having arrogated to yourselves the judgment of what mode would distress us the least, we cannot but point to you how erroneous you have been in your opinion of the superior advantage of the method proposed by you ; for upon an exact computation made between the terms prescribed in our orders per *Lapwing* and the mode adopted by you, we find that a loss will be incurred by the Company of upwards of three and three-quarter per cent, even allowing an interest of four per cent on the sums which would be paid sooner upon the terms we had directed than on the three classes of your draughts on us. This being demonstrable by the evidence of figures we shall not stay to shew the defect of any other motive assigned by you for so extraordinary a proceeding.

127. But as in our letter of the 27th of June last we positively forbad you to invade the right we are resolved to reserve to ourselves in respect to fixing the terms and rates on which we may indulge individuals with draughts on our treasury in England, and as by any breach of orders on the subject of remittances you will become responsible for the effects of it, we hope your future conduct will free us from the necessity of adding the full weight of our displeasure to the other inconveniences which you may draw on yourselves by a wilful disobedience in a matter of so much concern. We therefore have

here only to remind you that the orders we transmitted per *Lapwing* respecting the amount and terms of your draughts on us are to be punctually obeyed by you (untill we shall think proper to make any alteration therein) as you value the continuance of our favour or regard the consequences of our resentment.

128. Sir Robert Fletcher has made an application to us for payment of rupees 51,000, which he alleges to be the amount of losses he sustained by being plundered by Sujah Dowlah's cavalry when he was on a forced march to storm the enemy's camp, and setting forth that he wrote to Lord Clive in October 1765 a particular account of those losses ; but as no mention is made of the above facts either on your Consultations or advices, we could not enter into the examination of this claim. We therefore direct you to make a strict enquiry into this transaction and furnish us with every material in your power with your opinion thereupon in order to enable us to decide finally on this claim.

129. In your Consultations of the 16th December 1769 it appears you had upon the evidence of Mahomed Reza Cawn allowed the debt to Bolacky-dass to be justly due to him from the Company and ordered his demand to be paid with interest ; and on the 20th we find you granted bonds on account of the same, also one for rupees 13,435 payable to Miguel Van Colster ; but no mention is made on what account the latter is granted, or whether the bills drawn by him on Bolackydass for £500 advanced here have been discharged. You must therefore give us a full state of this transaction, as Mr. Van Colster remains still in England and has solicited us for a further sum on account of the commission, which he alleges to be due to him from Bolackydass for procuring payment of the beforementioned balance.

130. Having frequently required you to give strict attention to the judicious and necessary regulations adopted by the Committee of Inspection and to enforce the execution of them, we are greatly displeased that many important objects of that Committee's care should have been neglected to such a degree as to defeat the hopes we had of reaping many benefits from it's institution.

131. We shall in particular observe that had the business of the Export Warehouse been attended to with the assiduity and method pointed out by the above Committee, we cannot doubt but that our servants in general must have acquired that knowledge in all the articles of your investment which is necessary for conducting so essential a part of our concerns.

132. But as we are sorry to have so much reason to believe that the generality of our servants are wholly unacquainted with the severall articles of which your investment is composed, in order therefore to remedy an evil of such pernicious consequences to our affairs, you must appoint the most capable of our servants to superintend the business of the Export Warehouse ; and you will give him full authority to direct the attendance of such of our junior servants in Calcutta as shall be appointed for this service, and to act therein in the manner recommended by the Committee for Inspection ; and such superintendant must be required by you to take care that our servants who shall be summoned by him do duely attend all prizings, sortings and packings ; and in each bale the person who has examined it must put a note

specifying the quality of the cloths or goods with the reasons for their being better than the established muster or inferior to it, and this note must be signed by such person that we may be informed by whom the several bales have been sorted and packed.

133. We are glad to testify our satisfaction at the letter from the Collector General to the Board, dated 14th September, 1769, wherein he seems to have entered so minutely into the state of your revenues, and likewise at the commendable attention you have shewn to his observations. It is with equal satisfaction we acknowledge the accuracy that appears in the collective accounts of his department from March 1769 to September 1769 transmitted to us by the *Duke of Grafton*.

134. The several accounts relative to the Restitution¹¹ in 1763 are come to hand by the *Hampshire* together with a letter from the Secretary to the Board on that subject. These accounts so far as they go appear to be in general satisfactory; but we expect that you will not omit as soon as possible to furnish us with every other particular that may form a complete state of this transaction as directed in our letter of the 16th March, 1768.

135. We have likewise received the copies of the accounts for the Society of Trade¹² respecting the sale of salt and beetlenut, and in looking into the account current of that society with the Company, dated 26th August, 1769, we observe that the balance due for the duties on those articles is there made to be C.Rs. 137,121 as you advise us in your letter of 25th September, 1769, per *Ankerwyke*; but upon a closer examination of the several sums in the debit of that account, there appears to have been an omission of C.Rs. 220,000, which sum on your treasury receipts and General Books is entered as paid in February 1768 by Mr. Lawrell, Secretary to the Society, in which case instead of the beforementioned balance being due at the closing of that account, you had then received into your treasury the amount of C.Rs. 1,140,000, being C.Rs. 82,879 more than the whole amount of duties set forth.

136. On your treasury accounts for September 1769 there is further entry of C. Rs. 31,000. This, we apprehend, with the above surplus, may have been in part of a new account, which matter you must explain to us, and also why no receipts are found on the General Books ending April 1769 for the duties on salt and beetlenut.

137. We have received by the *Royal Charlotte* in triplicate the general accounts of charges at your Presidency and subordinates, together with the collections and disbursements of your revenues from August 1768 to July 1769. In our letter of 23d March, 1770, we pointed out some few necessary alterations in the method of drawing up those statements which were suggested to us from a review of those transmitted by the ships of the former season. We shall here make some further remarks that have occurred on the accounts last received.

138. As some of the heads of these charges are not to be seen on the General Books under the several entries of charges, we are at a loss to know of what they are composed; and on inspecting the books in order to compare some of those articles that have the same titles, we do not always find the monthly totals of disbursements agree. Particularly, the Mayor's Court charges appear to differ greatly in every monthly entry; the year's amount of

this charge by the books May 1768 to April 1769 is upwards of C.Rs.12,000, whereas the total by the above amount from August 1768 to July 1769 does not make a fourth part of that sum.

139. It should seem likewise that in these accounts no credit is given for stores made or repaired during the course of the year, but that the several articles comprize the gross disbursements of the storekeeper etc. You will therefore give us the necessary information in these particulars, and at the same time acquaint us how far you are enabled to make these materials more complete that we may judge, as mentioned in our former letter, whether such statements are to be considered at estimates or accounts.

140. With respect to the sum C.Rs. 16,240 due from Mr. Parker Hatley, which you advise us his attornies refused to discharge on examining the paymaster's books, we observe that the last payment made by him on that account was in July 1764, since which no demand appears to have been made on him till that above referred to. But, as we apprehend that such seeming neglect was owing to the paymaster's books not being before adjusted, we shall only urge how highly necessary it is that every book should be completed as soon as possible to the latest period in order to prevent oversights of this nature. However, you must not fail to furnish us with any materials that you may judge expedient to remove such difficulties as may arise on adjusting this affair in England.

141. It is with great satisfaction we expect by the next ship to receive the General Books of your Presidency and subordinates to April 1770, and likewise those of your Military Paymaster to April 1769, although we hoped to have received at the same time these last to April 1770; and we rely on you that no opportunity be omitted to forward these likewise by the earliest conveyance.

142. In our letter of March 1769 we observed that you had for some time neglected to send us the books of your General Storekeeper. We likewise observe, but from what cause we are at a loss to determine, that you have never transmitted to us the books of your Export Warehouse Keeper, although we have been regularly supplied with those of the Import Warehouse Keeper. This omission you must in future rectify; and indeed that we may be enabled to enter fully into every investigation that may be required, we must be furnished with every book referred to in the General Books of your Presidency.

143. The same reasons will operate with regard to the General Books of your subordinates, which should be likewise accompanied with their respective subsidiaries.

144. In your Military Paymaster's books under the head of pay to the military and train the monthly entries are inserted in one line in the journal, but you are in future to enter the number of the several ranks in each corps distinguishing the pay of each, which method is pursued in the accounts of the Paymaster of our Presidency of Fort Saint George.

145. In our letter of 23d March, 1770, we directed you to examine several balances standing on your General Books and to transmit to us your sentiments thereon with such information as may enable us to give our final instructions for clearing your books of such useless heads as tend to perplex the state of

your accounts. In the meanwhile we shall remark that your present method of entering the Dr. balances at the end of your journal without any regular disposition is attended with considerable inconvenience, for the several heads of dead stock charges remaining in balance, debts accounts unadjusted being indiscriminately blended together, are not separated without difficulty

146. You are therefore in future to make the entries in such a manner as may exhibit in a collective view such balances as are of a similar nature, in order to which you are to arrange them in the following manner under different titles.

1st. Dead stock:—Under this will be entered such articles as are to be considered as forming part of your dead stock, each having a head in the ledger, vizt—New Fort, Dock, Dock head slip, Cradle for careening sloops, Buoys in the river, Old Factory and buildings, Calcutta Town and buildings, Charges—building saltpetre godown, Charges—building new *Cutcherry*, Charges—burying ground, Bankypore Cantonments, Dead stock

2. Factories and settlements:—Under this will follow the balances due from the several factories.

3. Expeditions:—To include all undertakings to make new settlements or expenses in war for which the returns or reimbursements are dubious as expedition against the Muggs, expedition to Nepal.

4th. Ships and vessels:—Here follow the particulars of sloops &c. To these may be added the head of *budgerows* and boats.

5th. Money and good debts:—Under this title may be comprized Cash, Treasury, Charges—French prisoners, Advances to the *Duffadars*, Advances to contractors for building new works, King of Pegu, Nabob Nazim O'Dowlah Account—monthly payments, French Company, Commission unappropriated, Mint, Storekeeper General, Storekeeper of the Works, Military Storekeeper, Master Attendant, *Buxey*, Import Warehouse Keeper, Export Warehouse Keeper.

6th. Stores:—Timber and plank, Stores for exportation, Petty stores, General stores, Military stores, Materials and necessaries for building, *Cowries*.

7. Goods in the Import Warehouse.

8. Goods in the Export Warehouse.

Under these titles may be entered the separate heads of the goods in the two Warehouses.

9. At the *aurungs*:—To follow as usual.

10. Revenues:—Burdwan Revenues, Chittagong Province, Midnapore Province, Collector General.

11. Old debts:—Goods from Europe per ship *Stretham*.

Do. per ship *Lynn*.

Old balance account—the works, Consignments to Batavia, Dutch East India Company, Account Commissary, *Chunam* contract, *Dadney* due from the merchants, Old outstanding debts, Desperate debts.

12. Unadjusted accounts:—Under this may be inserted all such accounts as are not to be considered as debts but which for various reasons are kept open—Charges—law suits, Company's steward, Estimate of losses 1756, Army and navy, European sufferers, Restitution to natives, Armenians, Portuguese inhabitants, Ship *Tetuen bien*, Deposit of ditto.

147. With respect to the warehouse stocks, the particulars of which have hitherto been brought on your General Books, we think such articles should be discontinued and the summary of the import and export trade only appear; but as we have never yet received the books of your Export Warehouse Keeper we shall at present defer giving any orders relative to this matter.

148. By the *Duke of Grafton* we received the account current of Major Kilpatrick's estate, but are sorry to observe that no lights have been thrown thereby upon this transaction. In our letter of 16th March, 1768, we directed you to send his account authenticated under the seal of the Mayor's Court. In the meantime, although no certain judgement can be formed of the nature of this debt, yet, as it undoubtedly ought not to stand under the present denomination, we direct that the sum of C.Rs. 11,674-4-6 appearing due from his estate be wrote off from the head of Account Deposits to Old Outstanding Debts and remain till further orders.

149. We cannot close these observations, without expressing our satisfaction at the conduct of your Sub-Accountant Mr. Darrall for the diligence and care that appear to have been exerted in his department, particularly with respect to the adjustment made of the Patna accounts, the completing of which must have been attended with great labour and perplexity.

150. We have, in consideration of the long services of Mr. Tyso Saul Hancock upon the Coast, confirmed your appointment of him to be a supernumerary surgeon at your Presidency, but in future we shall disapprove of any appointments you may make to persons who have our permission to remain in India only to settle their private affairs.

151. As General Smith pointed out to you several good consequences that would attend the appointment of a Surgeon General to the army, which induced you to comply with his recommendation, we do therefore confirm your nomination to Mr. Anderson to that post.

Supplement

152. We are highly displeased at your passing over so slightly the information you received from Mr. Hugh Inglis that five hundred and fifteen musquets and bayonets had been consigned to him. For, as the private importation of arms or warlike stores of any kind is not only contrary to our orders but may be of the most pernicious consequence to the Company, it is with the utmost surprize we observe that instead of seizing and confiscating those arms as illicit trade you permitted Mr. Inglis to lodge them in your Military Storehouse even without enquiring by whom they had been consigned to him. Your conduct therefore in this respect cannot be justified by your restricting the exportation of those arms either to the eastward or the coast of Africa, since it might justly be apprehended that the same motives which prevailed in the importation might continue to operate in the disposal of them.

153. When we were on the point of closing our dispatches intended for your Presidency by the ships *Colebrooke* and *Lord Holland* the Purser of the *Lapwing* brought us your several letters as follow.—

General Letter	dated 25th August, 1770.
do (in the Secret Department) . .	8 September 1770
General Letter from the Select Committee	31 August.
Separate do from do . . .	11 September
Duplicate General Letter from do . . .	28 June
Letter from the President . . .	12 September.

154. As the present advanced season will not admit of such a detention of our ships destined for Coast and Bay as would be requisite for our entering into a minute and deliberate disquisition of the important points of your late advices, we shall take the same into consideration after the departure of the ships now under dispatch and shall transmit to you by some early conveyance such observations and orders as may appear to us requisite to guide your conduct in the important affairs under your administration.

155. We however must here observe that notwithstanding the critical circumstances of your Presidency must have rendered the exertion of your utmost abilities and the firmest union in your Councils absolutely necessary, and although the greatest circumspection became your duty in order to preserve that dignity to your government which alone could procure you a proper degree of consequence both in the eyes of friends and enemies, yet we are concerned to find that disputes between our Council and Select Committee have occasioned an extraordinary waste of the time and answered no salutary purpose whatever. As we shall be more explicit on this subject by another conveyance we do in the meantime positively direct that all measures which we have heretofore recommended to the consideration of our Governor and Council be with all convenient dispatch decided upon according to the opinion of the majority of the Council, and that all orders conveyed through that channel be enforced immediately and carried into effectual execution, and particularly that the appointment of Councils at Muxadabad and Patna for the better management of the collections as settled by our President and Council in their Secret Department do immediately take place.

156. And in order to prevent delay of business or inconvenience to our affairs by any misapprehension or undue application of the powers which it is our pleasure should be vested in our President and Council or Select Committee respectively, we have thought proper and do hereby direct that our Select Committee do regard those objects only as peculiar to their department which are particularly specified in our letter dated 23d March, 1770, paragraph 180, to which you are hereby referred. And our further pleasure is that all other business be conducted by our President and Council in their Publick or Secret Department as the case may require until a deviation from these our orders and instructions may be warranted by our express authority and not otherwise.

157. As the famine which has raged to so great a degree throughout the provinces could not but excite in every humane breast the utmost compassion for the miseries which the poor must have suffered from it, we will not admit a thought that our superior servants have not afforded every aid

which humanity could dictate, and employed every means in their power to prevent such a calamity from having more than its natural effects. But, as we are not equally free from an apprehension that even amidst the distresses to which a kingdom was reduced and the depopulation which was in prospect there may have been others in the Company's service or under its protection so far influenced by avarice as to monopolize the chief articles of the support of the poor, we therefore enjoin you to send us a full and exact account of the quantity of rice which during the progress of this calamity has been exported into other parts from those provinces which suffered least by it together with the name of each proprietor of the rice so exported as well as the quantity thereof. And as [sic] we expect that unbiassed by partiality you extend your enquiries to the utmost and transmit to us all possible information in respect to a proceeding which may have dishonoured our favour and protection.

158. Observing that you have appointed Mr. Palk, one of the Board of Revenue at Patna, we cannot but express our astonishment that you should have given a post of that consequence to a person who had behaved so unbecomingly in the affair of the overcharges and abuses committed at the cantonments of Burrampore, and who since his being pardoned for that offence had not given you proof sufficient of his integrity to justify you in making such an appointment. We therefore direct that he be recalled from that station upon receipt hereof and employed in his proper rank in our service at Calcutta.

159. Notwithstanding any of our former orders for restraining the Commander in Chief at your Presidency from a constant seat and voice at your Councils and Select Committee, it is our pleasure that your present Commander in Chief and his successors to that post have a constant seat and voice at your General and Secret Council Boards and at your Select Committee.

160. The office of Judge Advocate in our opinion being very proper to be filled up by one of our civil servants than any one of those upon the military line and Mr. John Stewart, a gentleman of whose integrity and abilities we are fully satisfied, having offered his services for that employ, we therefore recommend him to you to be appointed to that station agreeably to the powers delegated to you by our commission, and that from the time of his arrival at Fort William he be paid the usual salary allowed to such post, where he is to remain until a vacancy happen in the Secretary's office, for as this gentleman has filled with reputation a station in the Secretary of State's office here, we have been induced to appoint him to succeed to the first vacancy of Secretary at your Presidency. And as Mr. Stewart now takes passage on the *Lord Holland* we direct that he be appointed to succeed to the first vacancy of Secretary either in your civil or military department next after the gentlemen who now fill those stations. And if you should stand in need of Mr. Stewart's assistance (which may be needful to instruct him in the detail of your affairs) before such vacancy happens we would have you allow him such gratuity for his trouble as you may think him deserve.

161. As it is our intention that henceforward the persons who shall be appointed to the post of Secretary or Assistant Secretary at your settlement be fixed in those stations, it is our pleasure whoever may be so appointed to the former of those employs shall have the rank of youngest Senior Merchant

and to the latter the rank of youngest Junior Merchant with the salary and allowances annexed thereto and not to rise to higher ranks in our service.

162. Considering the importance of the Government of Bengal and being well persuaded of the abilities of Warren Hastings Esqr. for the due discharge of the office of Governor, we do hereby appoint him second of Council at Fort William and to succeed Mr Cartier as President and Governor of Bengal, and we have accordingly directed Mr. Hastings to proceed to Fort William as expeditiously as possible to take his seat in Council at your Presidency.

We are,

Your loving friends,

G. Colebrooke/J. Purling/Thos. Rous,
Hy. Crabb Boulton / John Harrison /
Fredk. Pigou / Edwd. Holden Crutten-
den / George Cuming / Henry Savage /
Jas. Cockburn / Daniel Wier / William
James / John Michie / William Deva-
ynes / Robert Gregory / Ben. Booth /
John Roberts / Chas. Chambers Junr. /
Pet. Lascelles.

London.
the 10th April 1771.
(Per Lord Holland)

13

PUBLIC LETTER DATED 25 APRIL 1771

Select Committee censured for disobeying orders—Cartier recalled and disciplinary action taken against others—reconstitution of the Council and the Select Committee—Hastings to succeed Cartier as Governor.

OUR President and Council at Fort William in Bengal.

1. Since closing our letter of the 10th instant we have more fully considered the conduct of our Governor and Council and Select Committee at Bengal; and we entirely disapprove the opposition given by our Select Committee to a measure which was positively ordered by the Court of Directors and for the speedy accomplishment whereof the *Lapwing* packet was dispatched express to your Presidency.

2. And as so alarming a disunion amongst our servants may be attended with consequences of a very serious nature, we cannot omit the present opportunity of testifying our displeasure against those persons who have opposed the execution of our orders.

3. It is therefore our pleasure, and we do hereby direct that Mr. Becher be dismissed from our Council at Bengal, and that Mr. Claud Russell and Mr. Chas. Floyer be immediately removed from our service in Bengal, and that they do return to Madras with all convenient dispatch, where they are

to take rank in those stations which they would have now held in the Company's service respectively in case they had remained until this time without interruption on the Fort St. George establishment.

4. By the foregoing removal of Mr. Becher from the Council, and of Messrs. Russell and Floyer to their respective stations upon the Fort St. George establishment, and the appointment of Mr. Hastings (by our letter of the 10th instant) to succeed Mr. Cartier at your Presidency, and having likewise re-admitted Messrs. Rumbold and Dacres into our service, it becomes necessary to make a new arrangement of our Council. We therefore direct that upon the receipt hereof it be composed of the following gentlemen notwithstanding our orders of the 23rd March, 1770, for limiting the number of Council to nine members exclusive of the Commander in Chief.

John Cartier Esqr.	President and Governor
Warren Hastings Esqr.	Second, and to succeed to the Government in case of the death or coming away of Mr. Cartier
Brigadier General Sir Robert Barker	Third (or the Commander in Chief for the time being) but not to rise higher
Mr. James Alexander	Fourth
Thomas Rumbold	Fifth
Samuel Middleton	Sixth
William Aldersey	Seventh
Thomas Kelsall	Eighth
John Reed	Ninth
Francis Hare	Tenth
Joseph Jekyll	Eleventh
Phillip Milner Dacres	Twelfth
Thomas Lane	Thirteenth.
Richard Barwell	Fourteenth and last of Council

5. And we do hereby further appoint that our Governor of Bengal, the Commander in Chief for the time being, and the three senior members of our abovementioned Council be a Select Committee, with the like powers, and under the same regulations, as are established by the 180th paragraph of our General Letter, dated the 23rd March, 1770.

6. Our present situation with the public, and the jealous eye with which it inspects our proceedings, make it absolutely requisite that we should have every possible intelligence respecting our military in India. You are therefore hereby directed that by every ship whereon you transport any returning soldiers to England, you transmit us an exact list thereof, and particularly distinguish the healthy from such as you may have discharged as invalided.

7. The gentlemen we have appointed our Secret Committee for the ensuing year and whose powers are the same as those of the preceding year are John Purling Esqr. Chairman of our Court, George Dudley Esqr.—Deputy Chairman, John Harrison, John Manship, Frederick Pigou, Thomas Rous, Henry Savage and Laurence Sullivan Esqrs.

8. A Persian grammar lately published here being esteemed a very useful work for acquiring a true knowledge of that language, we send you a few



Warren Hastings

copies thereof by the ships now under dispatch, that such of our servants who are employed on that study may have all the assistance in our power to enable them to obtain an accomplishment, which will particularly recommend them to our notice.

9. We have drawn upon you the following set of bills of exchange, payable at 2s. 2½d. the rupee and thirty days sight:

One set for Rs. 1,267-14-1 payable to Mr. Richard Chicheley Plowden or order for pounds sterling 140 received of Edward Wheler Esqr., dated the 25th April, 1771.	} Rs. 1,267-14-1 £140

10. We are truly sorry, after having entertained the highest opinion of the abilities and good conduct of our President Mr. Cartier, that he should in any shape incur our displeasure; but we cannot pass over his late conduct in joining a resolution to retard the execution of our orders, which, if they had been vigorously enforced, would, we cannot doubt, have tended so much to the public welfare, and reflected honour on every individual who might have had the execution of them. We therefore direct that Mr. Cartier do continue in the Government of our Presidency of Fort William till the departure of the last ship of the season for Europe after the arrival of Mr. Hastings in Bengal, on or before which time, it is our pleasure that Mr. Cartier do resign that Government to Mr. Hastings.

We are,

Your loving friends,

J. Purling / Geo. Dudley / Thos. Rous /
John Harrison / Fredk. Pigou / Peter Du
Cane Junr. / Edwd. Wheler / Henry
Fletcher/H. Verelst/Jno. Woodhouse /
Wm. James / Jno. Michie / L. Sullivan /
John Roberts/J. Hurlock/Daniel Wier/
Robt. Gregory.

London,
25th April, 1771.
(Per Colebrooke)

PUBLIC LETTER DATED 3 MAY 1771

Appointment of Italian silk winders for service in Bengal—petition of Richard Whittall against an order of the Mayor's Court—strictures on the conduct of the Mayor's Court in the case of Alexander Jephson—strictures on negligence in packing goods.

OUR President and Council at Fort William in Bengal.

1. We sent our last General Letters dated 10th and 25th April by the *Colebrooke*, which sailed on her voyage the 30th following, and by the *Lord Holland* you will receive the duplicates thereof.

2. We have since closing the beforementioned letters procured at a considerable expence Francis Clerici, Pietro Spera, and Paulo Erra as spinners of raw silk to be employed in the filatures under the direction of Messrs. Wiss, Aubert and Robinson. They have contract to serve six years from the 14th. January last at the salary of thirty pounds a year each, exclusive of their travelling charges and house rent; they are also to be paid the expence of their passage from India at the expiration of their contracted term, should they not choose to remain longer in India.

3. You are to deduct from the wages of Francis Clerici ten shillings and six pence a month, and five shillings and three pence per month from Pietro Spera's, which sums are to be paid to their relations in Italy agreeable to the terms of their agreement, copy whereof is inclosed, and they are to be employed in such manner as will best answer the end of their being sent out.

4. Upon the arrival of the beforementioned Italians you are to enquire of them in what manner they have been treated during the voyage, as we have given positive directions to Captain Nairn to behave to them with the greatest humanity and are resolved to resent any ill usage they may meet with in their passage.

5. As we gave direction by our letter of the 7th of December, 1769, that you should appoint Mr. Charles Croftes, one of the assistants to the Board at Muxadavad, we make no doubt that before the receipt of this you will have paid a proper attention to our said order.

6. A petition having been presented to us by Mr. Richard Whittall, late one of the attornies of the Mayor's Court at Calcutta and dismissed from his office by an order of the said court dated the 4th August, 1769.

7. We considered the merits of the said petition and directed a case to be stated thereon for the opinion of Mr. Sayer, the Company's Standing Council, which opinion is to the following effect.

"The dismission of Mr. Whittall from acting as an Attorney of the Mayor's Court appears from Mr. Whittall's case to be an order made in a cause, consequently may be appealed from and ought to be heard by the Governor and Council; but it is not in the power of the Directors of themselves to reverse any order made in a cause. It is not only adviseable, but in my opinion necessary, for the Directors in their General Letter to the Governor and Council to state their thoughts of Mr. Whittall's dismission as to that part of the order that declares without specifying any particulars of the bad conduct Mr. Whittall was guilty of, which *in the course of his transactions of the business of his office frequently merited and received the severe reprehensions of the court.* Such general charges of misbehaviour without facts are very gross and unbecoming a court of justice, and have more the appearance of private resentment than public good, especially from a court whose orders may be reversed by appeal. The Directors should recommend to the Governor and Council to admit the appeal and act therein as the justice of the case shall require."

8. Mr. Whittall now proceeds to Bengal on the ship *Lord Holland* in order to prefer to you his petition of appeal, which we recommend to you to receive and to take the same into serious consideration, not doubting but he

will receive at your hands all the justice which his case requires. At the same time we do not mean to bias or prejudice your judgment in the course of this proceeding.

9. Joseph Hodgson, whom we have appointed to be a volunteer in your pilot service and takes his passage on the *Lord Holland*, having been several years master of a vessel to the West Indies and coast of Guinea, we therefore direct that you avail yourselves of his abilities and promote him in the pilot service according to his merit.

10. We transmit you herewith the memorial of Alexander Jephson on the behalf of himself and Philadelphia, his wife, lately presented to us complaining of the most cruel injustice done him by the Mayor's Court at Calcutta, and your refusal of redress upon his complaint exhibited to you by way of appeal against that injustice.

11. Commonsense suggests that in the case of an executor he ought never to be held to bail but where there is the fullest proof not only of the debt claimed to be due, but that he is possessed of assets belonging to the deceased applicable to the discharge of such debt which he willfully withholds or which are in danger of being squandered away. Much less ought an executor to be put into prison or held to bail either upon a *ne exeat regno*¹ or any other process, when it appears upon his oath, either upon an inventory delivered in or his answer to a bill filed against him for payment of the demand, that the estate of his testator is insolvent. In such a case it is not to be conceived that the most erroneous judgment could suggest such proceedings as have been put in practise against Mr. Jephson.

12. Equally absurd is it for you to entertain doubts of receiving appeals against the interlocutory orders or sentences of the Mayor's Court in causes depending before them, because they are not compleat judgments or decrees. Every order made by a court of justice is a sentence or decree within the meaning of our charter of justice, and there is not a syllable in it that can lead you to suppose but only final judgments or decrees were meant to be the subjects of appeal. In this kingdom it is every day's practise to see appeals lodged in the House of Lords and at the Council Board against interlocutory orders of the Courts of Chancery of England and Ireland and of the courts of justice in the King's dominions abroad in numberless instances where there is not the least decision upon the merits, frequently upon the competency or admissibility of witnesses before it is possible to know what evidence they would give, or how far when given it would affect the cause, often upon orders for trials at law or new trials the event whereof cannot be foreseen.

13. The facts stated in the memorial laid before us are of so extraordinary a nature and the treatment Mr. Jephson and his wife received seemed to us so big with oppression and injustice that before we could judge what was fitting to be done thereon we thought it adviseable to lay the whole of the proceedings before Mr. Sayer, the Company's Council, for his opinion, which we transmit to you herewith, together with the opinions of Sir William De Grey, the present Chief Justice of His Majesty's Court of Common Pleas, and of Sir Fletcher Norton, formerly His Majesty's Attorney General and now Speaker of the House of Commons, on Mr. Jephson's case.

14. It is with much concern and indignation we observe our courts of justice prostituted to such purposes as must carry with them not only an indelible reproach to the courts themselves but to that Government by which they were instituted ; and that we may entirely acquit ourselves of giving the least countenance to such illegal acts, we injoin you immediately to receive Mr. Jephson's appeal whenever he shall present the same, that you enquire strictly and minutely into all the circumstances of his complaints and cause full and ample justice to be done therein.

15. After having thus expressed our abhorrence of proceedings carrying on the face of them such evident marks of oppression, we trust that you will in future prevent any further complaints of this nature against yourselves ; and that on the present occasion you will without favor or affection put in execution the advice of our Council, if satisfactory evidence can be obtained of such insolent declarations being uttered from the bench as are laid to the charge of those sitting upon it to administer justice under the laws of England and those laws only.

16. The cargos of the ships *Duke of Grafton* and *Anson* having been further inspected since closing our list of investment transmitted by this conveyance, it lays it under the disagreeable necessity of observing that both the raw silk and piece goods, particularly by the latter ship, most of which we find you bought for ready money and invoiced at fifty per cent above their real value, have not been prized, sorted or packed with the least degree of attention. This neglect we deem unpardonable, for let the quality of the goods be ever so bad, nothing can justify so great an inattention to our interest and your duty ; and let the persons be whom they may that have been guilty of it, we shall not fail to testify our highest displeasure towards them by another opportunity. In the meantime we direct you to make a very particular enquiry into this matter and report the whole to us with the names of those persons who have injured us therein, and we do further positively direct that in future you strictly adhere to the orders communicated to you in the 131st and 132nd paragraphs of our General Letter of the 10th of last month under pain of our severest resentment.

We are,

Your loving friends,

J. Purling / Geo. Dudley / Tho. Rous /
Jno. Woodhouse / J. Manship / Fredk.
Pigou / Heny. Savage / Wm. James /
John Roberts / Edwd. Wheler / Henry
Fletcher / George Cuming / J. Hurlock/
H. Verelst / Jno. Michie / Daniel Wier /
John Harrison / Peter Du Cane Junr. /
Ja. Cockburn / Lau. Sullivan.

London,
the 3rd May, 1771.
(Per *Lapwing*)

PUBLIC LETTER DATED 12 JUNE 1771

Shipping news and other routine matters—Cartier to be treated with respect while in India—Bolts allowed to return to Bengal.

OUR President and Council at Fort William in Bengal.

1. The ship *Lord Holland*, which sailed on her voyage the 14th May, carried our letter of the 3d preceeding, also the duplicates of our advices of the 10th and 25th April.

2. On the 12th May we received by the ship *Prince of Wales* the under-mentioned advices from your Presidency, *vizt.*,

General Letters dated 30th October¹ and 1st November, 1770

Do in the Secret Department

Letter from the Select Committee

} 30th [31st?] October

3. You will receive this letter by the *Britannia* Captain James Swithin, lately purchased by us to proceed to Bombay in her way to Fort St. George and Balambangan, but to call first at Anjengo to land the packets for Fort St. George and your Presidency, which the Chief and Council are ordered to forward overland as speedily as possible.

4. We have sent to our President and Council at Fort St. George copies of our letters to Bombay and such other papers as we judged necessary for their information, of which they are directed to send you copies for your guidance respecting our design of establishing a settlement at Balambangan or some island or place adjoining; and as we have much at heart the success of this expedition, it is our positive direction that you give every assistance in your power towards effecting the same.

5. The three Italians whom we advised you by the *Lord Holland* were appointed spinners of raw silk at your Presidency, not arriving in time to go

3rd May 1771, on that ship, now take their passage on the *Britannia* to Pa. 2.

Bombay, from whence our President and Council there are to provide them with a conveyance and to defray every charge that may be incurred on their account till they arrive with you.

6. Our Secretary by our direction wrote you a letter dated the 8th May enclosing some remarks on the raw silk and piece goods then on sale, which were so bad that the trade would not bid for them. As the sale is since finished we send further remarks on those species of goods, and we positively direct that you make a very minute and strict enquiry concerning the purchases of the goods complained of as directed by our letter of 3d May and give us a full and particular account of your proceedings, as we shall not fail shewing a just resentment against any who shall be found guilty of such a flagrant breach of their duty as appears in this transaction.

7. After our advices dated the 3d May were closed, we directed our Secretary to acquaint you in a letter of the 8th that notwithstanding the orders

in our General Letter of the 25th last for President Cartier's resignation of the Government of Bengal to Mr. Hastings on the departure of the last ship of the season after Mr. Hastings's arrival at your Presidency, it was not our intention Mr. Cartier should thereupon be obliged to leave India; and therefore, if he chose to continue some time longer there to settle his private affairs, he had our permission so to do, and during his continuance in Bengal he was to be treated with the respect due to the distinguished station he had held in our service. This indulgence we hereby confirm, and expect the same has in all respects been observed by you.

8. Mr. John Stewart, whom we recommended should succeed to the office of Judge Advocate at your Presidency until the post of Secretary either in your civil or military department shall become vacant, agreeable to the 160th paragraph of our letter of 10th April, now proceeds on the *Britannia* by the way of Bombay, and we send in this packet Senior Merchant's covenants for him to execute upon his succeeding to the post of Secretary, which on being executed are then to be returned to us.

9. Lieutenant John Mattocks mentioned in our letter of the 10th April returns to his duty in our military on the *Britannia*, as he could not get ready in time to proceed on one of the Coast and Bay ships.

10. Mr. William Bolts having applied to us for permission to take passage to Bombay on the *Britannia* in order to proceed to Bengal to resume the office of an Alderman in the Mayor's Court at Calcutta, we have thought proper to comply with his request, and have positively directed that he be not permitted to stay longer at Bombay than until the first conveyance that may offer either by an Europe or country ship's sailing for your Presidency on which he is to embark.

We are,

Your loving friends,

J. Purling / Geo. Dudley / E. Crutten-
den / John Harrison / George Cuming /
Wm. James / Ja. Cockburn / John
Roberts / Daniel Wier / Peter Du Cane
Junr. / Robt. Gregory / Joshua Smith /
Jno. Woodhouse / Jno. Michie / Henry
Fletcher / J. Hurlock / L. Sullivan /
Edwd. Wheler / Heny. Savage / Thos.
Rous.

London,
12th June, 1771.
(Per *Lapwing*)

PUBLIC LETTER DATED 28 AUGUST 1771

Shipping news—conduct of Company's servants charged with cornering grain during the late famine to be investigated and the guilty dismissed—grant of monopoly rights in salt trade granted by Riza Khan criticised and instructions given for the maintenance of freedom of trade in the necessities of life like salt, betel-nut and tobacco—disappointment at the decrease in Diwani revenues and the general working of the administration and the decision that the Company should directly "stand forth as Duan"—dismissal of Riza Khan and appointment of his successor—instructions relative to appointments to the posts of Residents and Chiefs of factories—Fort William Government censured: for neglecting to transmit the General Books of the subordinate factories, opening the treasury for drafts on London, and allowing penalty to be paid in respect of a certain bill of exchange, which was ordered to be reimbursed by the members of the Council—Maratha menace and the politics of the north-west—succession to the zamindari of Benares—Fort William Council censured for encroaching on the Court's power to establish new posts and reward meritorious service—postscript: total bills issued on London not to exceed £10,000 in a year, subject to certain exceptions.

OUR President and Council at Fort William in Bengal.

1. Since we wrote to you under date of the 12th June by the *Britannia*, duplicate of which letter is herewith transmitted, we have received by the ships *Duke of Kingston*, *Houghton* and *Europa* the undermentioned advices viz.,

General Letter in the Public Department	dated 12 December 1770 with postscript of the 20th	Received per <i>Duke of Kingston</i> and du- plicate per <i>Hough- ton</i>
-do- in the Secret -do-	-do-	-do-
-do- from the Select Committee	31st -do ¹	-do-
-do- in the Public Department	15 January 1771	per <i>Europa</i>
-do- in the Secret -do-	-do-	-do-
-do- Select Committee	18th -do-	-do-

2. In order to forward such advices as we deemed essential to the welfare of the Company we caused the *Lapwing* snow commanded by Captain Henry Gardiner, to be expeditiously fitted, and she now proceeds as an advice vessel. On her arrival at your Presidency she is to be returned to Europe with dispatches when and in such manner as you shall see proper. The snow being thus employed no goods are laden on her on our account, but we have placed in the Commander's hands one thousand ounces of foreign silver for her use in the voyage if she should be under the necessity of putting into any port for repairs or refreshments. The Captain therefore must account for the dis-

posal of any part of it, and deliver the balance thereof to you. Herewith you will receive an inventory of the *Lapwing* and every thing belonging to her, an account of the charge of the outset, the contract with the mariners and their respective wages, copy of the Captain's instructions and all other necessary papers.

3. Captain Henry Gardiner upon his arrival applied to us to be restored to the command of the *Lapwing*, whereupon we attentively went through the whole of the proceedings of the committee you appointed to examine into his conduct on a complaint exhibited against him by his Second Mate, and it clearly appeared to us that his behavior was in several instances very exceptionable. We therefore are of opinion that your dismissing him from the command of the *Lapwing* was right and proper upon the evidence that was produced.

4. But Captain Gardiner some time after presented to us another memorial accompanied with a narrative of his remarks on the conduct and behavior of the officers on board the *Lapwing* in her outward bound voyage to Bengal, and a letter under the handwriting of Thomas Adams, the principal and only evidence upon oath against him in Bengal, contradicting the most material part of his affidavit entered upon your Consultations. Captain Gardiner was also examined thereon, and it appearing to us that many charges had been falsely urged against Captain Gardiner, though his behavior in many instances was highly blameable, yet, as, in general, we have found him to be an active and diligent officer, and although we approved of your dismissal of him from the evidence then produced, we have, in consideration of his former services and the hardships he has suffered, reinstated him in the command of the *Lapwing*.

5. The ships taken up this season for all parts of the East Indies and China are at an advanced freight of twenty shillings per ton more than last year, and in consideration of the dearness of provisions in the East Indies the demorage is raised to nine pence a ton per day; the Company are also to pay all increase of wages above twenty-six shillings per month. The names of the ships, their commanders and consignments are as follow.

<i>Granby</i>	John Johnstone	}	China direct
New ship	William Money		
do	Alexr. Hamilton	}	Madeira Coast and China
<i>Lioness</i>	William Larkins		
<i>Duke of Grafton</i>	Brook Samson	}	Coast and China
New ship	James Buggin		
do	David Mitchell	}	Coast and China
<i>Earl of Ashburnham</i>	Richard Peirce		
<i>Earl of Lincoln</i>	Alexander Tod	}	Bencoolen and China
New ship	Francis Fortescue		
<i>Havannah</i>	John White	}	St. Helena and Bencoolen
<i>Earl of Middlesex</i>	John Rogers		
<i>Triton</i>	Willm. Elphinstone	}	Madeira Coast and Bay
<i>Greenwich</i>	Robert Carr		

<i>Prince of Wales</i>	Jonathan Court	} Coast and Bay
<i>Anson</i>	John Lennox	
<i>Nottingham</i>	Peter Stoakes	
<i>Duke of Albany</i>	John Stewart	
New ship	Arthur Gore	} Bombay and China
do	John Clements	
<i>Duke of Cumberland</i>	Augustus Savage	} Madcira and Bombay
New ship	Robert Rous	
<i>Hector</i>	Stephen Williams	
<i>Devonshire</i>	Matthew Hore	
<i>Speaker</i>	Robert Scott	

Besides the abovementioned we have resolved to take up another ship for St. Helena and China.

6. We give you this early information of the ships taken up, that you may be apprized not only of the number to be returned from your side of India, but also to concert with our other Presidencies for the most expeditious dispatch of all our shipping that the heavy expence of demorage may be avoided as much as possible.

7. The snow *Lapwing* having in her last voyage been converted into a ship, whereby the Company incurred a considerable expence, you are hereby positively ordered, on no pretence whatever, to permit a mizen mast to be added to the said vessel, but she must continue rigged as a snow in the same manner as she sails from the port of London.

8. Having advised you of such particulars respecting the consignments of our ships for the ensuing season as we are enabled to communicate to you by this conveyance, we proceed to those points which induced us to expedite the *Lapwing's* departure for your Presidency and shall signify our pleasure in such other respects as have fallen under our consideration.

9. At a time when famine was depopulating a country with which we are so immediately connected and in the prosperity whereof we are so deeply interested, we cannot but highly approve every well-meant and generous effort to relieve the miseries of the poor inhabitants, by whom, in an especial manner, the calamity must have been experienced in all its dreadful consequences. And as we enjoy a very singular pleasure in commending those of our servants whose attention has been turned towards alleviating the general distress, so are we filled with the greatest indignation on finding a charge exhibited against any persons whatever, but especially natives of England, for monopolizing grain, and thereby aggravating the woes, and, no doubt, increasing the numbers of wretched mortals, laboring under the most awful circumstances, which could possibly happen to any people whatsoever.

10. We are led to these reflections by perusing the letters from Mr. Becher and Mahomud Reza Cawn, which accuse the gomastahs of *English gentlemen*, not barely for monopolizing grain, but for compelling the poor ryotts to sell even the seed requisite for the next harvest! It was natural for us to expect, upon reading the above advices, that the strictest enquiry into the names and stations of all persons capable of such transactions would have been the immediate consequence, and that the most exemplary punishment had been inflicted upon all offenders who could dare to counteract the benevolence of

the Company, and entertain a thought of profiting by the universal distress of the miserable natives, whose dying cries, it is said, were too affecting to admit of an adequate description.

11. You will judge from hence how great must have been our surprize on observing that upon a general charge of this nature having been made, and not one name specified either by Mr. Becher or Mahomud Reza Cawn, you never entered into any enquiry at all about the matter, and what seems equally strange and absurd, you, in general terms, tell the Resident at the Durbar, he may depend on your concurrence in *every measure that may tend to relieve the distress of the poor in this time of dearth*, and yet reject the only particular remedy pointed out and recommended by him for that purpose! And on this occasion we must remark that whatever other expedients might have been applied, none could, in our opinion, have operated more speedily or effectually than that suggested by Mr. Becher, of totally prohibiting all Europeans, in their private capacity, or their *gomastahs* from dealing in rice during the scarcity of that article. But as part of the charge sets forth that the ryotts were compelled to sell their rice to these monopolizing Europeans, we have reason to suspect that they could be no other than persons of some rank in our service. Otherwise, we apprehend they would not have presumed on having influence sufficient to prevent an enquiry into their proceedings, in case they were hardy enough to attempt the oppression of the natives or to monopolize the necessaries of life; for though these practices are at all times unwarrantable and very destructive, they were rendered exceedingly so by the unhappy circumstances of the province at that conjuncture.

12. We do therefore enjoin you to examine impartially the above charge, which we cannot suppose would have been made, if there had been no foundation at all for it; and we direct that whoever may be found guilty of a conduct which appears to us so unworthy be forthwith dismissed from our service, or deprived of our protection if not in our service, and sent to Europe as a warning to all persons not to contribute towards oppressing the poor, which we are determined never to permit whilst in our power to prevent it, nor to spare the offenders whenever we may be able to detect them.

13. The numberless complaints which you say you have received from the merchants of Calcutta respecting the salt trade and the *perwannahs* granted under the seal of Mahomud Reza Cawn for a monopoly of the trade for three years exhibit a scene so contrary to our expectations, so opposite to our intentions, and so contradictory to our positive commands, that we can by no means approve your lenient conduct, either towards Mahomud Reza Cawn or Telukee Ram, the latter of whom, under different zemindars, was, it seems, the man appointed to be the actual monopolist of that article. We are well persuaded that Mahomud Reza Cawn could not be so easily imposed upon as he pretends to have been by persons who are said to have solicited the *perwannahs*. It is not at all probable that he could believe the salt works were unoccupied whilst so many merchants were even clamorous for a share in the trade; but supposing he had believed it, as he owns he was at that time in Calcutta, his plain duty was to have represented the matter directly to our Governor and Council, and not to have granted very extraordinary privileges to individuals in direct contradiction to the Company's orders with which he was perfectly acquainted. But it appears to us very

probable that Mahomud Reza Cawn's undue influence had totally discouraged the merchants; and it is no wonder they became willing to receive back their money, when they could no longer indulge an expectation of obtaining any salt; but we observe, however, that they were as unable to recover their advances as to prosecute their trade.

14. As Mahomud Reza Cawn had the express orders of the Company and the regulations of the Committee before him for his guidance, we are greatly astonished that he should presume on such frivolous pretences to disobey the one and totally to disregard the other. And it is impossible, after detecting him in such conduct, that we should any longer consider him as a proper object of that full confidence hitherto reposed in him. We have in this transaction the plainest proof of his secretly counteracting our positive commands, and we must conclude that he will not scruple to repeat the same practices whenever self-interest and a favorable opportunity concur for that purpose.

15. The diminution of the duties on salt is so very considerable that we cannot but express our astonishment at your declared ignorance of the cause thereof, and although the result of your examination into the conduct of the *Fouzedar* of Houghly may, in some degree, enable you to assign reasons for the great loss sustained by the Company on this account, yet we cannot but be of opinion that the *perwannahs* granted by Mahomet Reza Cawn for a monopoly have so powerfully operated in reducing the revenue arising from salt as to render it necessary for you to turn your enquiries to that quarter; the case is plain, and the deduction by no means forced. How it could be deemed so little worthy of your notice, we are at a loss to conceive, or how you could advert to the fact of salt being monopolized under the express authority of Mahomet Reza Cawn and not be aware of the consequence, namely, that he, having presumed to transgress the Company's commands, would also avail himself of his station to screen his agents from paying duties or compel them to compound with him for the same to the damage of the Company.

16. Solicitous as we are that the inland trade in salt, beetle nut and tobacco should be secured from the evils which would attend a monopoly of those articles, were the same carried on either by Europeans or natives, we cannot but be pleased to find that our intentions in this respect (communicated in our orders per *Lord Mansfield*) have been published by you. And as the instructions we transmitted to our Commissioners will convince you how much we have at heart the absolute freedom of this trade, subject only to such duties as we are assured will be so far from distressing the inhabitants that they will be sensible of the superior benefits we are anxious they should enjoy under the influence of our Government, we therefore deem it unnecessary to repeat our orders on this subject. But we cannot forbear expressing our resolution not to suffer the least deviation from them, and should you find that any of our servants or others under our protection shall have counteracted our intentions in respect to the general freedom of trade, you are forthwith to dismiss them the Company's service or withdraw our protection from such Europeans as are not in our service. At the same time we enjoin you to be attentive to the conduct of the natives concerned in such trade, and to use every means in your power to suppress all combinations and undue practices tending to enhance the price of the several articles thereof.

17. As salt is so important an object of the inland trade, we are highly displeased at your having neglected to give us a regular annual account of the quantity made throughout the provinces and the places where the same has been landed, conformable to our orders of 20th November, 1767. This, therefore, we expect you to do in future, and we further require you to transmit to us such an account for the several years which have passed since we signified our pleasure in this respect, that we may be enabled to judge what duties may be levied on that article without oppressing those whom it is our aim as well as desire to relieve.

18. Notwithstanding we observe that Mahomud Reza Cawn has complained of a monopoly of rice being carried on by other persons, we have received information that he himself, in the very height of the famine, has been guilty of great oppressions; that he has been guilty of stopping the merchants' boats, loaded with rice and other provisions intended for the supply of Muxadavad, and has forcibly compelled the owners to sell their rice to him at a price so cheap as from 25 to 30 *seers* per rupee, and re-sold it afterwards at the rate of 3 or 4 *seers* per rupee, and all other eatables in proportion; and that although it is affirmed this conduct of Mahomud Reza Cawn has operated in the destruction of many thousands of people, yet it has been overlooked by those in power, who ought to have prevented him from acting in a manner so inhumane and so very unworthy the station which he fills as *Naib Dewan* of the province of Bengal.

19. We have repeatedly directed you to enquire into the very large balances said to be due from Mahomud Reza Cawn on account of the Dacca revenues; and, upon the whole, nothing of consequence has been produced by our frequent orders on this subject. But after such a discovery of flagrant duplicity in Mahomud Reza Cawn, we cannot persuade ourselves that his bare assertion of having accounted for all the money collected ought to have the least credit with us. The unadjusted balances amount to a very large sum, and we are determined that either he shall prove to us that he did not collect the whole revenues, and what part was remitted, and to whom all abatements were specifically made, or refund to the Sircar all the balances due from the *chuela* of Dacca during the time he rented the revenues of that district.

20. When we expected that the influence and protection of the Company would have had such happy effects throughout the provinces of Bengal as would ensure to us a considerable increase in the revenues of the *Dewanny*, we cannot but be deeply affected to see ourselves disappointed in that reasonable expectation and to experience such a reverse as now appears by the great diminution of those revenues, particularly in the province of Bahar. Indeed, when we turn our view to the flourishing state of Burdwan and the encreasing revenue of that province under the immediate inspection of our servants, we cannot but conclude that the diminution of the *Dewanny* revenues must have been owing to the misconduct or malversation of those who have had the superintendency of the collections.

21. But as we have further reasons to suspect that large sums have, by violent and oppressive means, been actually collected by Mahomet Reza Cawn on account of the *Dewanny* revenues, great part of which he has appropriated to his own use or distributed amongst the creatures of his power and the

instruments of his oppressions, we should not think ourselves justified to the Company or the publick were we to leave to him in future the management of the *Dewanny* collections; and as the transferring the like trust to any other minister could yield us little prospect of reaping any benefit from the change, we are necessitated to seek by other means the full advantage we have to expect from the grant of the *Dewanny*. It is therefore our determination to stand forth as *Duan*, and by the agency of the Company's servants to take upon ourselves the entire care and management of the revenues. In confidence, therefore, of your abilities to plan and execute this important work, we hereby authorize and require you to divest Mahomet Reza Cawn and every person employed by or in conjunction with him or acting under his influence of any further charge or direction in the business of the collections; and we trust that in the office of *Duan* you will adopt such regulations and pursue such measures as shall at once ensure to us every possible advantage, and free the ryotts from the oppressions of zemindars and petty tyrants under which they may have been suffered to remain from the interested views of those whose influence and authority should have been exerted for their relief and protection.

22. From the grounds we have to suspect that Mahomet Reza Cawn has abused the trust reposed in him and been guilty of many acts of violence and injustice towards his countrymen, we deem insufficient the depriving him of a station which may be made subservient to the most corrupt purposes. It is therefore our pleasure and command that you enter into a minute investigation not only of the causes to which the decrease of revenue may be ascribed, but also into Mahomet Reza Cawn's general conduct during the time the *Dewanny* revenues have been under his charge. And as the several complaints and accusations already noticed to you are of a nature too serious to be suffered to pass over without the most rigid enquiry, we have directed our President to order him to repair to Calcutta, there to answer to the facts which shall be alleged against him, both in respect to his publick administration and private conduct. And while we enjoin you to pursue your researches with unremitting care and attention, we expect you to obtain not only a just and adequate restitution of all sums which may have been withheld from the *Circar* or the Company, either by embezzlement or collusion, but also the redress of such injuries as individuals may have sustained by the exercise of his power or the effects of his avarice.

23. As such appearances of corrupt practices in the administration of Mahomet Reza Cawn leave us room to apprehend that he may have been equally unfaithful in the discharge of the trust he held under the Nabob, we further direct that you make a full and strict enquiry concerning the application of the large sums which have passed through his hands on account of the annual stipends paid to successive Nabobs in consequence of the treaty in 1765 for the maintenance of their family; and the charge of sepoy for the support of their dignity; and if it shall appear that any part thereof has not been duly accounted for by him, we require you to demand and receive for the benefit of the *Circar* the amount of all such sums as he may have withheld or applied to his own separate use.

24. Though we have not a doubt but that by the exertion of your abilities and the care and assiduity of our servants in the superintendency of

the revenues, the collections will be conducted with more advantage to the Company and ease to the natives than by means of a *Naib Duan*, we are fully sensible of the expediency of supporting some ostensible Minister in the Company's interest at the Nabob's court to transact the political affairs of the *Circar*, and interpose between the Company and the subjects of any European power in all cases wherein they may thwart our interest or encroach on our authority. And as Mahomet Reza Cawn can no longer be considered by us as one to whom such a power can safely be committed, we trust to your local knowledge the selection of some person well-qualified for the affairs of Government, and of whose attachment to the Company you shall be well assured. Such person you will recommend to the Nabob to succeed Mahomet Reza as Minister of the Government and guardian of the Nabob's minority; and we persuade ourselves that the Nabob will pay such regard to your recommendation as to invest him with the necessary power and authority.

25. As the advantages which the Company may receive from the appointment of such Minister will depend on his readiness to promote our views and advance our interest, we are willing to allow him so liberal a gratification as may excite his zeal and ensure his attachment to the Company. We therefore empower you to grant to the person whom you shall think worthy of this trust an annual allowance not exceeding 3 lacks of rupees, which we consider not only as a munificent reward for any services he shall render the Company but sufficient to enable him to support his station with suitable rank and dignity. And here we must add that in the choice you shall make of a person to be the active Minister of the Nabob's Government, we hope and trust that you will shew yourselves worthy of the confidence we have placed in you by being actuated therein by no other motives than those of the publick good and the safety and interest of the Company.

26. As the disbursements of the sums allotted to the Nabob for the maintenance of his household and family and the support of his dignity will pass through the hands of the Minister who shall be selected by you conformable to our preceding orders, we expect that you will require such Minister to deliver annually to your Board a regular and exact account of the application of the several sums paid by the Company to the Nabob. This you will strictly examine; and we trust that you will not suffer any part of the Nabob's stipend to be appropriated to the Minister's own use or wasted among the unnecessary dependants of the court, but that the whole amount be applied to the purposes for which it was assigned by us.

27. Having from various important considerations thought it proper to recall the Members of Council from your several subordinate factories and to restrict their residence to Calcutta, we signified our pleasure in this respect in our letter to our Commissioners, dated the 23d March, 1770; and having authorized and directed you to open our several letters under their address, it is unnecessary for us to recapitulate the instructions contained therein. We however take this occasion to explain ourselves more fully on that part of them which directs that on the removal of the members of your Board from the chiefships of the several subordinates, those stations should be filled by our servants below Council.

28. However desirous we are that our servants should succeed to superior stations according to priority in the service in all cases where the same can

be observed without prejudice to the interests of the Company, it is not our meaning that seniority alone should entitle them to enjoy such posts as require not only an undoubted integrity but also a competent degree of ability and attention. And as in this light we must consider the chief management of our affairs at your subordinates, we leave to your judgement to appoint to the respective Residencies such of our servants as may be most likely to promote our interest in the trust to be committed to them.

29. We cannot more effectually testify our disapprobation of monopolies of every kind than we have done in the beforementioned letter of 23d March. As you are in possession of that letter, we refer you thereto for full information and for your guidance on this subject. And should you have reason to believe that the Residents of your subordinate factories or any others under your Presidency have monopolized any branch of trade in the districts where they have presided contrary to our pleasure signified on this point, we hereby direct that you enter into a strict and impartial enquiry into their conduct, and should they appear to have infringed the rights of others in pursuit of their own advantage, you are forthwith to suspend them the Company's service and transmit to us by the first opportunity full and particular information in respect to all such offences for our ultimate decision thereupon.

30. At a time when the immediate and indispensable occasions of the Company required you to retrench every article of expence which was not absolutely necessary for transacting our general concerns, we are surprized to find you could suffer the charges of your subordinate factories to encrease to the degree in which they now appear. Whatever may have been the pretence for a dissipation of so great a part of our necessary resources, we find ourselves constrained to interpose our authority for the prevention of an evil which is become intolerable to us. And as we have reason to believe that large sums have been expended for the gratification of private vanity under a pretence of supporting the rank the Company holds in the empire of Indostan, we can no longer permit that mistaken notion to operate to the detriment of our true and essential interests.

31. We, therefore, hereby direct that our servants below Council who are, in future, to act as Chiefs of your several factories be considered as Residents only, and we strictly prohibit the indulgence of any parade and expence in the exercise of such office, enjoining our servants not to assume to themselves any consequence in the eyes of the natives, but leave to our President and Council to support, by a judicious choice of measures, that dignity and influence it may be requisite for us to maintain.

32. We, therefore, expect and require you to be attentive to the conduct of our servants who shall be appointed Residents at your subordinates, and if any of them shall appear to have acted contrary to our pleasure (which you are to signify to them in this respect) and involved us in any expence not absolutely necessary for carrying on our commercial concerns, we require you to suspend such persons our service, and inform us of the nature and extent of their offences that they may receive from us such further punishment as their disobedience shall deserve.

33. As the necessity of being informed of the particulars of every charge incurred at your subordinate factories is increased by our resolution to retrench

every ostentatious expence, we again enjoin you to forward to us annually not only the General Books of each factory but the *Buxey's* account and all such subsidiaries as contain the particulars of their several charges. And you must give the most positive orders that our servants at the several subordinates do not fail to specify even the most minute articles of those disbursements which compose the heads of charges of each factory.

34. We are sorry to find that the orders we have so repeatedly given you for your transmitting to us a regular series of the General Books of your subordinates since the capture of Calcutta should have had no other effect than engaging you to forward to us by the ships of last year those of Patna from 1764. But as we shall not be satisfied until you have complied with those orders to the full extent, we expect and require you not only to complete the series of Patna Books, but to send us also those of your other subordinates which have been withheld from us. At the same time we must apprise you that should you omit to do so by the returning ships of the ensuing season, we shall consider it as an act of wilful disobedience on your part, since the authority you have over our servants in their several stations makes you responsible to us for any such omission. And as we are weary of continual reprehension on the same subject, we hope you will not, by any further delay, constrain us to testify our displeasure in such a manner as is due to a manifest disregard of our positive and repeated commands.

35. The surprize and indignation we felt on the first intimation of your intentions to open your treasury for sums to be received for draughts on the Court of Directors at a rate of exchange different from our precise and positive orders in this respect are increased to such a degree on finding to what extent you have presumed to violate those orders that we want words to express our resentment at the conduct of such of our servants as have thus manifested a total disregard to the credit and interest of the Company, when the convenience and benefit of individuals were in competition with it.

36. We have indeed so fully apprized you in our letters of 27th June, 1770, and 10th April, 1771, in what light we should consider every deviation from our orders respecting bills of exchange that it is altogether unnecessary for us to enforce them by a repetition of commands which have avowedly been counteracted. We, however, take this occasion to repeat the resolution we have taken to make our servants accountable to us for all the ill effect which may result from their disobedience in a point of so important a nature. And here we think proper to advise you that in consequence of such resolution, we shall forthwith form a calculate of the loss and damage which the Company may sustain by the unwarrantable conduct of our servants who have presumed to infringe our authority and deviate from the terms we had prescribed for remittances through the Company's cash; and whatever loss shall appear to arise from the mode adopted by our servants in opposition to our orders, we shall expect and require them to make good to the Company in their joint or separate capacities.

37. Captain Philip Affleck, the drawer of a bill of exchange in favor of the Governor and Council of Chandernagore for a sum equal to one moiety of the Navy Donation, has made a formal application to us demanding payment of a penalty of 10 per cent, which you have wantonly and most unjustifi-

ably, engaged to pay to the agents for the navy in Calcutta by way of damages for non-payment of the above mentioned bill, and we have found ourselves under a necessity for the honor of the Company to inform Captain Affleck that the said penalty shall be paid in Bengal in the manner to be agreed upon between him and the French Comptroller General or the agents of the French Company agreeably to your said stipulation.

38. But although we thought ourselves bound to fulfil this engagement of our Governor and Council in which the honor of the Company seems to us most essentially at stake, yet we do not consider ourselves warranted to sacrifice so much of the Company's property as must be given up, were we thus to pass over an affair which is of so singular and extraordinary a nature that we believe the Company's records do not furnish a transaction equal to it.

39. After observing that the assertion in the agent's letter of the 2d January, 1770, that a penalty of ten per cent was annexed to the non-payment of the bill is void of all truth and foundation, we find so far were our Governor and Council from requiring satisfaction in this matter, which from the largeness of the sum appeared to deserve a very serious investigation; that, on the contrary, they instantly and spontaneously offered to pay this heavy penalty. Nay more; they, as readily, and also unrequested, did, besides, agree to allow the claimants an interest of 8 per cent upon the principal sum, which together with the penalty amounts to no less than 18 per cent for 10 months, and all this, as we are told, is done by way of *distressing the French*. We have no doubt but the French might suffer inconvenience for want of the money; but we have as little doubt that they might have supplied themselves with a much greater sum on easier terms than were thus voluntarily offered.

40. The dishonor we suffer in being thus called upon for payment of this penalty and scandalized as parties in a transaction of this nature is no small mortification to us; but though this cannot now be avoided, yet, in order to convince our servants that such a shameful disregard to our orders and to the interests of the Company shall not be permitted with impunity, we do hereby direct that after satisfaction shall have been made to the French agreeably to the assurance given by us to Captain Affleck the money be immediately reimbursed to our treasury by Mr. Cartier, Mr. Russell, Mr. Floyer, Mr. Hare and Mr. Jekyll, being the members of our Council who were present on the 16th of January, 1770, and agreed to the payment of this penalty whenever it should be applied for, a resolution totally repugnant both to the letter and spirit of our orders on this head. If the state of our treasury was such as made this payment, though ordered positively and without reserve, impracticable or imprudent, which we are far from seeing cause to believe, shall we be told that there was no possibility of borrowing such a sum at interest for less than 18 per cent for 10 months? Then why was it that a compliment of 10 per cent of this Company's money was to be made to the French East India Company, attended with this peculiar circumstance, of its being offered without being asked, and under colour of indemnifying men against a penalty which, by a proper examination by you, it would have appeared they were never subject to?

41. So unwarrantable is this conduct in our eyes and so worthy of our indignation that we do expressly order, in case any of our said Council who

subscribed to the aforesaid resolution shall refuse or neglect to contribute his proper share of this indemnification to the Company for this notorious breach of duty, that he or they be forthwith, and we do declare them actually, dismissed the service, and rendered for ever incapable of holding any employment under the Company. At the same time, we think ourselves bound to express our satisfaction with the conduct of Mr. Barwell, the junior member of your Board, who had the good sense and resolution to enter his dissent against these proceedings. We shall only repeat that upon this subject the orders of the Court of Directors were explicit and left you no discretion or latitude to deviate or depart from them. Your promise in consequence of those orders to the agents in August 1769, had you any doubts of the Company's ability to discharge the moiety of the donation at the end of the year, ought not to have been made in positive and direct terms. What could have happened in the course of four months to prevent totally the effect of your promise which might not in some degree have been foreseen, or at least apprehended, at the time it was made? But whether so or not, why was not your engagement which induced the agents to accept the bill circumspectly and cautiously conveyed? In short, it exceeds our patience to spend more time in the condemnation of a measure which, in our opinion, is void of every pretence to honor, duty, reason or justice.

42. In order effectually to enforce our aforementioned resolution, as it may happen that some of our said Council may have withdrawn themselves from our service before this letter will reach you or may think fit so to do on being apprized of its contents, it is our further positive order that you do immediately attach their effects without favor or affection as for a debt due to the Company and as being at the same time, as we conceive, the most efficacious method to obtain the satisfaction we require, in which proceeding we will support you with our utmost power, being resolved to stamp this notorious breach of duty with that degree of resentment which it justly deserves.

43. While we were in full expectation of reaping all the advantages we had in prospect from the acquisition of the *Dewanny* revenues, and which were become the more essential to us from our compact with the publick^a for a participation of those revenues, how greatly must we be alarmed at seeing the *Duanny* collections scarce answering any other purpose than defraying the civil and military charges of our Presidency of Bengal? Indeed, nothing [but] the most unhappy experience could have led us to suppose that the amount of those revenues would have not been sufficient both for the charges of your Presidency and supplying us with annual investments equal to our engagements with the publick, the expectations of the proprietors, the provision of exports, and every other demand to which the Company is subjected. But what must be our surprize to find that the collective amount of our revenues in Bengal are so far from yielding us returns adequate to our indispensable occasions that a considerable part of your consignments of the present year has been purchased by interest notes given for the amount, notwithstanding you have received into your treasury for draughts on the Court of Directors sums equal to the whole of those consignments?

44. Whatever may have been the causes which have brought on such effects, the consequences are equally alarming to us; and as we learn from

your late advices that the decrease of revenues and the increase of charges will not permit us to hope a speedy remedy for the evils with which we are threatened, we cannot but turn our view to the commission which we have permitted to be drawn on your nett territorial revenues. And should we continue to experience that your resources are inadequate to the expectations we had formed of them, we shall find ourselves under a necessity to withhold from our servants those gratuitous rewards which we were induced to grant them in the full and reasonable hope that their care and attention would ensure to the Company all the advantages expected from the possession of the *Deewanny*.

45. It is with the most serious concern we learn from your late advices that the incursions of the Marattas had spread such a terror and despondence into the minds of those powers which were the remoter barrier of our possessions that the irresolution and timidity of the most potent of them have given rise to such successes as have encouraged the Marattas to invade the dominions of the King and lay claim to a part of the territory of Sujah Dowlah. But the conduct of the Rohillahs and Jauts is rather a matter of concern than surprize to us as the King and Sujah Dowlah neglected that occasion to unite with those powers effectually to repel the common disturbers of the empire and confine them within the limits of their former possessions. To whatever causes this general timidity or supineness may have been owing, we find ourselves equally affected and the tranquility of the provinces endangered thereby; but as the projects of the King or the conduct of the Vizier are at present too mysterious for us to decide on the motives of their inactivity, and as we know not what alliances may be formed to justify us in carrying our arms beyond the bounds of their dominions, we are prevented from proposing any precise plan for your guidance in this respect. But, should your subsequent advices enable us to form a more certain judgment of the expediency of departing from the plan we have laid down, we shall communicate to you by some early conveyance how far we may be disposed to carry our arms beyond the bounds of the provinces or the territories of our allies and become the parties in an offensive war. In the meantime we trust that your sole objects will be the security of our possessions and those of the powers with whom we are connected, both by treaty and interest. And, as this appears to have been the guide of your conduct upon the Marattas invading the province of Korah, we with pleasure approve the measures you have taken for defending the dominions of the King and Vizier from their inroads and depredations, more especially as those measures are not only justified by necessity but are within the line which we have prescribed for your conduct in such a conjuncture.

46. It affords us great satisfaction to find that the succession of the late Bulwand Sing's son to the zemindary of Benares met with no opposition from the Vizier. We cannot doubt but you will carefully improve an event to the accomplishment whereof you have so greatly contributed. As we cannot but commend your proceedings on this occasion, so are we happy in another opportunity of testifying our entire approbation of Captain Gabriel Harper, from whose abilities and attention to his duty in his critical situation we have already declared that we hope for the most beneficial consequences. We therefore direct that you signify to Captain Harper the sense we have of his past conduct and the high expectations we entertain from his future services; and

it is with pleasure we observe that you are so fully sensible of the benefit the Company may receive from his residence at the court of Sujah Dowla that we cannot doubt of your continuing him in his present station so long as any advantages can be derived from his abilities and the zeal he has discovered for the Company's welfare.

47. The friends of Mr. Forbes having represented to us the ill state of his health, the necessity he is under of returning to his native country for recovery of it, and applied to us for our license for that purpose, we observing that the extent of the Company's demand from any papers in our possession does not appear to exceed £5,000, have accepted their bond of indemnity for £10,000 to make good upon demand to the Company all such sums of money and costs as shall be recovered against him by the Company in the Mayor's Court of Calcutta, or by any suit or legal proceeding at the Company's suit; and, therefore, we direct that upon receipt hereof you consent on our behalf in the Mayor's Court that Mr. Forbes return by the first conveyance to Europe, without prosecuting his bail or sureties there for a breach of the *ne exeat regno*. But, in that case, you will certify to us judicially under seal of the Mayor's Court a copy of the judgment or decree against him, if any has been or shall hereafter be obtained in favor of the Company. You are also to understand that this permission to return home is by no means intended to put a stop to any suit or prosecution against Mr. Forbes for recovering any demand of the Company against him, but the same must be prosecuted to a final decision in the same manner as if this order had never been issued; and we do moreover declare that it is not in any wise to affect or stop the course of justice in any suits that may be depending against him by private creditors in which we are noways concerned.

48. Since writing the foregoing, we have received by the *Worcester* your General Letters in the Public and Secret Departments of the 12th, and postscript in that of the Public Department of the 27th February, and of the Select Committee, dated 16th February. And, although the time will not permit us at present to enter upon the consideration of those advices, yet we cannot pass unnoticed the new appointments made by you and advised in the 52d and 54th paragraphs of the General Letter, and we do once for all assure you that as we will entirely reserve to ourselves the power of establishing new posts and of conferring gratuitous rewards on those of our servants whose length of service or extra diligence in duty may mark them out as proper objects of our beneficence, so we shall invariably disapprove your conduct when you presume to act contrary to our pleasure hereby signified. It is your duty to represent to us what measures you may deem necessary and for the good of the Company and to communicate to us your opinion thereupon; it is incumbent upon you to encourage the diligent. But this must be by recommending them and stating their merit to the Court of Directors, who will then judge of the propriety of extending extra benevolence in a service which regularly and very amply reward those that engage therein.

49. For the reasons above set forth we disallow the salary and emoluments granted to Messrs. Higginson, Dean and Bowey, and we order and direct that they do immediately repay into our treasury all sums which they may have received in consequence of your indulgence, and in default thereof that those who were present when the order was established do refund the

same to us directly ; and this our order you are to consider as absolute, from which we shall on no account depart, and to govern yourselves accordingly.

50. The Court of Directors having been advised by the opinions of the most eminent counsel in this kingdom that the office of an Alderman of the Mayor's Court of Calcutta to which Mr. William Bolts was ordered to be restored upon an appeal to His Majesty in Council is *according to the Charter of Justice* become vacant, you are hereby directed forthwith to proceed, according to the said Charter, to the choice of a fit and proper person to fill up the said vacancy in the place and stead of the said Mr. William Bolts.

We are,

Your loving friends,

J. Purling / Geo. Dudley / Heny.
Savage / Fredk. Pigou / L. Sullivan / J.
Manship / Ja. Cockburn / Wm. James /
Peter Du Cane Junr. / Jno. Michie /
Daniel Wier / George Cuming / Richd.
Bosanquet / Edwd. Wheler / J. Hur-
lock / John Roberts / Joshua Smith /
John Harrison.

London,
the 28th August, 1771

Postscript

The letters herein enclosed relating to transactions in Bengal are publickly printed in the common London newspapers of this week. The substance of them, if they are genuine, is of so much importance to the interest of the Company that we can hardly conceive it possible you should omit to furnish us with such material intelligence, and more especially as the letter referred to is represented to be a publick record by way of exhibit in the Mayor's Court of Calcutta. If such suit exists, and indeed in all suits wherein the interest or honor of the Company are concerned, whether the Company are parties to them or not, we desire you will constantly transmit to us the earliest intelligence and authenticated copies of the proceedings from the Court, and we expect also that you will make the fullest enquiry respecting the transactions contained in these papers and communicate to us your sentiments thereon.

The further instance you have given us of your disobedience to our commands in the drafts you made on us by the *Worcester* constrains us to add to what we have already written on the subject of bills of exchange, that you are on no account or pretence whatever to issue in future bills on us for more than the amount of £100,000 payable in one year exclusive of Lord Clive's *jaghire* and certificates to commanders and officers of ships and at the rate of exchange expressed in our orders in 1769 by the *Lapwing*. You are to consider our orders on this point as positive, and on no account to deviate therefrom, for we are determined you shall be answerable to us for all consequences which may ensue from our refusing to accept such bills as shall not be drawn in conformity to our present commands.

Nevertheless, if any persons should choose to pay in money to be sent to China for bills on us payable in three years according to the terms formerly

prescribed per *Lapwing*, you may in that case, and in that only, receive cash to any amount and issue bills on us accordingly.

London,
29th August, 1771.
(Per *Lapwing* and *Greenwich*)

We are,
Your loving friends,
J. Purling / Geo. Dudley / L. Sullivan /
Fredk. Pigou / Heny. Savage / John
Harrison / Daniel Wier / Wm. James /
J. Hurlock / George Cuming / Jno.
Michie / Rd. Bosanquet / Edwd. Wheeler /
Joshua Smith / John Roberts / J.
Manship / Ja. Cockburn.

17

PUBLIC LETTER DATED 18 DECEMBER 1771

Information about shipping and cargo for India and China, and other trade matters—military personnel shipped to India—fresh commissions to military officers appointed by the Court not to be issued at Calcutta—membership of Revenue Councils raised from 4 to 5—Fort William Government censured for its orders in respect of Capt. Affleck's bill of exchange.

OUR President and Council at Fort William in Bengal

1. By the *Lapwing* snow we wrote to you under date the 28th and postscript of 29th August, duplicate and triplicate of which we send by the *Nottingham* and *Greenwich*. We also transmit by the *Nottingham's* packet copy of our letter of the 10th April and triplicate of our letter of the 12th June.

2. The advices we have received from the several departments since the *Lapwing's* sailing are as follow—

General Letter in the Public Department 2d April, and	} Received per <i>Mansfield</i> 30 October 1771.
postsript of 12th.	
Do. in the Secret Department do. do.	
Do. from the Select Committee 31st March.	

3. Many delays and inconveniences having been experienced by our packets from India being made up improperly, we therefore direct that in future all your paper packets to us, together with the private letters, be enclosed in such packages as may be portable in one or more post chaises, to be accompanied by the person who may be charged therewith from the place they may be landed at in Great Britain, and that your books be ordered to be sent up to us immediately on the ships coming into the river Thames.

4. We have already informed you of our having entertained 25 ships for the Company's service; but since giving that information, we have thought proper also to take up the ships *Lord Camden*, Captain John Reddall, and *Earl of Sandwich*, Captain Charles Deane, and to consign the former to St. Helena and China, and the latter to St. Helena and Bencoolen in the room of the

Earl of Middlesex, which ship, although entertained as before advised, had since been found to be quite unfit for service. The *Royal Henry*, Captain Rous, is ordered to proceed to Madeira, Coast and China instead of Bombay as before noticed, and the new ship, Captain Hamilton, is to go to Bombay in her stead. We have also ordered the *Anson*, Captain Lennox, to proceed to Coast and China in the room of the *Duke of Grafton*, Captain Samuel Bull, which ship is consigned to Coast and Bay.

5. By letters lately received from France, an account is brought by the French ship *Trison*, which sailed from Mauritius the 27th April, of the unfortunate loss of the ship *Verelst* the 25th of that month on the rocks of the Amber Islands near the coast of Mauritius. No advices of this unhappy event are come to us immediately from the commander or others belonging to that ship, but we are given to understand that great part of the crew has been saved and that there are hopes part of the cargo will be recovered.

6. As by the beforementioned accident we are deprived of the book and paper packets which were on board the *Verelst*, we now send by the *Nottingham* a list of such books and papers the duplicate whereof were not received by the *Worcester*, and we direct that copies of them be made as expeditiously as possible and sent by the first opportunity.

7. Notwithstanding we have consigned seven ships this season to the Coast and Bay, yet there cannot be a doubt but you and our servants on the Coast will have more than ample provision for their return to us with full, if not surplus, tonnage the season of their arrival; and the more so as we shall expect to receive two thousand five hundred tons of saltpetre from all parts of India, agreeable to the directions sent last season, which with the surplus tonnage, if any, must be equally distributed on each ship.

8. And being persuaded that the tranquillity of affairs and the state of our treasuries at Bengal and Fort St. George will admit of more than seven ships being laden home from Coast and Bay, we shall direct our servants at Bombay to send two ships from thence to Bengal or the Coast in order to be laden home from one or both of those places.

9. You will also find by the list of ships that only twelve are to proceed from hence to China, exclusive of the *London* expected to arrive there in 1772 from Bombay. Your assistance to this branch of our commerce will consequently be lessened when compared with that required from you last year, and it is necessary you should be acquainted with the provision we have made and calculated upon for the purchase of the China cargoes of the said thirteen ships which is as follows.—

Silver from hence this year	£205,000
Woollen goods and lead	153,900
Balance in China as ordered	150,000
London's cargo from Malabar Coast	40,000
Pepper from the West Coast	89,000
Indian goods from Fort St. George	50,000
Bills of exchange as in 1770	98,500

£756,400[sic]

10. From the above calculation you will see that on allowing £45,000 for the amount of each of the thirteen ships' cargoes from China, there will remain as a surplus stock for those of the ensuing season about £151,400.

11. We have continued our orders for the China Council to receive into cash for bills to be drawn by the ships consigned thither this season to the amount of £20,000, payable at 365 days sight and at 5s. 6d. for each weighty dollar.

12. The gentlemen we have appointed to manage our affairs in China for the season of 1772, and as Residents there in 1773, are Messrs. Alexander Hume, Edward Phipps, Francis Wood, William Rous, Thomas Bevan, William Harrison, Matthew Raper, John Bradby Blake, James Bradshaw, William Henry Pigou and George Rogers.

13. We permitted Mr. William Lindsay to take passage on the snow *Lapwing* to be employed as a volunteer in your pilot service, and he is to receive all fitting encouragement, having served in the station of Chief Mate on board one of our freighted ships.

14. We have also appointed Mr. John Lee who takes passage on the *Nottingham* to be a volunteer in your pilot service, and he is to be employed therein in such a manner as may fully answer the purpose of our sending him.

15. The principal articles of our intended export to India and China this season will be as follow.—

For Bengal

Cloth 677 bales; long ells 54 bales; broad long ells of ten pieces each 93 bales; flannel 100 pieces for cartridges; 100 tons of lead; 50 tons of iron; 50 tons of copper; gunpowder 170 barrels to be sent on the Coast and China ships, 360 on the Bombay ships and 770 barrels on the Coast and Bay ships.

For Fort St. George

Cloth 968 bales; long ells 25 bales; lead 50 tons; copper 100 tons; iron 50 tons, and 12 tons of steel; gunpowder 1,000 barrels of 60 lb. each.

For Bombay

Cloth 1,328 bales; long ells 102 bales; lead 100 tons; flannel 1 bale for cartridges; copper 250 tons.

For Bussorah

Long ells 200 bales of ten pieces each.

For Fort Marlborough

Iron 20 tons; steel 50 tons, gunpowder 50 barrels, flour 30 tons, cordage 31 tons, small arms 25 chests.

16. You must continue to assist our Presidency at Fort Marlborough by complying with their indents to the utmost of your power as it is impossible for us to supply them so fully as their necessities require.

17. The *Triton*, Captain William Elphinstone, and *Greenwich*, Captain Robert Carr, are ordered to call at Madeira for the 200 pipes of wine which we have directed our correspondents there to lade equally on those ships for the use of your Presidency, out of which quantity you must not fail to send ten pipes to our servants at Fort Marlborough.

18. We have appointed Mr. John Mordaunt who proceeds on the *Nottingham* to be a cadet at your Presidency with the rank assigned to Mr. Robert Gold, who declined going in the list dated 8th May, 1771, sent per *Colebrooke* and *Lord Holland*.

19. We have also appointed forty-six cadets for your military this season, several of whom proceed on the ships now under dispatch as will appear by the lists of military in the packets, and they are to rank agreeably to lists which we shall forward to you by some future conveyance.

20. Being well informed that it is an established custom in India for the several military officers who are appointed by us and in consequence have commissions from us here under the Company's seal to be compelled upon their arrival in India to receive new commissions from our Presidents and Councils there, and as such custom is not only derogatory from the credit and authority of the commissions given by us but attended with a very unnecessary expence to such officers, we hereby positively forbid the continuance of such practice, and direct that the officers whom we may think proper to appoint in England do always take rank in our forces abroad according to the orders we shall give you from time to time for that purpose.

21. Major Alexander Mackenzie, who came to England with your permission for the recovery of his health, (which being effected) returns to his duty by the way of Fort St. George in the *Earl of Lincoln*. On his arrival in Bengal he is to resume the rank he held at the time of his coming away in January 1770, being next under Major John Tottingham.

22. Observing that our Moorshedabad Council consists only of four members, and that by the casting voice of the Chief an improper majority may be formed, we direct that you add another member to the said Council, and that both at Moorshedabad and at Patna, our Councils of Revenue do, in future, consist of not less than five persons; and it is our pleasure that no important regulations do ever take place until they shall have been first concurred in and fully approved by the majority of our said Councils respectively either at Moorshedabad or at Patna.

23. By our orders to the Commissioners we signified our pleasure that our several committees at the Presidency should consist only of four persons each. But, as we have thought proper since the date of those advices to make a very considerable addition to the number then appointed to compose our Council, we now direct that each respective committee do consist of five members of our Council, and that no orders be conveyed to any of the persons under the direction of each committee respectively until such orders shall have been first approved in committee by three or more of the said members of Council, appointed to form such committee.

24. By our letter of the 28th August last you will observe in what light we considered your conduct in having engaged to indemnify the agents for the Navy Donation in Calcutta for non-payment of the first moiety thereof, for which Captain Affleck, attorney to the claimants, had passed a bill of exchange in favor of the Governor and Council of Chandernagore.

25. The resentment we conceived on your precipitate and unjustifiable engagement is greatly encreased by finding ourselves involved in a heavy expence on account of another bill of exchange drawn for the second moiety of the said Donation, for we must remark that the measures which you have taken with the agents in Calcutta respecting the discharge of the 2nd moiety will no more acquit you of blame than free us from the necessity of complying with those expectations which the drawer of the bill for the second moiety formed on the promise you gave to the agents to indemnify them from damages in respect to the bill of exchange for the first moiety of the Navy Donation.

26. And, therefore, as your misconduct and disregard to our orders left us without any other relief than what we could obtain by terms of accommodation, we consented to pay to the order of Captain Affleck the damages said to have been incurred for non-payment of the bill passed by him for the second moiety of the said Donation, upon condition that Captain Affleck would in behalf of the claimants enter into a covenant to repay to the Company the amount of such interest as might become due upon the notes which you have issued in discharge of the 2nd moiety from 1st January, 1771, to the time they may be exchanged for draughts on the Court of Directors, provided such interest do not amount to more than 10 per cent on the principal of the said notes.

27. And, as in consequence of this agreement Captain Affleck has signed a proper instrument for the purpose, our Secretary hath by our order drawn on you two bills of exchange each for current rupees 72,500, payable at 30 days sight to the order of Philip Affleck Esqr., being the amount of damages said to have been incurred by non-payment of the two bills of exchange drawn by Captain Affleck for the first and second moiety of the Navy Donation; and we hereby direct that the said bills of exchange for C. Rs. 72,500 each drawn by our Secretary be duly honored and punctually discharged.

28. By the present conveyance you will receive a letter under our seal addressed to our President Warren Hastings Esqr., which is to be delivered to him only, and therefore, in case of his decease, the same is to be returned to us unopened.

We are,
Your loving friends,

J. Purling/Geo. Dudley/Fredk. Pigou/
John Roberts / J. Hurlock / Henry
Fletcher / Jno. Woodhouse / Wm.
James / Jno. Michie / Daniel Wier /
Edwd. Wheler / Peter Du Cane Junr. /
Joshua Smith / Robt. George / John
Harrison / J. Manship / George Cum-
ing / L. Sullivan / Heny. Savage.

London,
18th December, 1771
(Per Nottingham,
Quadruplicate per Anson)

PUBLIC LETTER DATED 15 JANUARY 1772

Appointment of pilots, writers, etc.

OUR President and Council at Fort William in Bengal

1. Since we wrote to you under date of the 18th December last, the ship *Duke of Portland* arrived at Plymouth from Bombay and Fort St. George the 10th instant.

2. You will receive this by the *Nassau*, *Prince of Wales*, *Duke of Albany* and *Duke of Grafton*, to which ships' packets you are referred for the particulars relating to your Presidency.

3. From the frequent complaints which have been made of the inability of persons acting as pilots in Bengal river, we have endeavoured this and the two last seasons to send out capable persons to be employed in the pilot service. Among those of this season is one Mr. Marshall, who has been a Third Mate of one of the Company's ships from hence. To this person as well as the others we expect every proper encouragement will be given, that particular care be taken to instruct them as expeditiously as possible in the navigation of the river and to employ them in such manner as will best suit with their respective abilities.

4. We have appointed the undermentioned gentlemen to be writers at your Presidency, and they are to rank in the following order *vizt.*, John Bazett, John Sykes, Richard Kenneway, William Wilkinson, Joseph Cator, Henry John Chandler, Thomas Calvert, William Larkins, Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, John Taylor, John Kinlock, Jonathan Duncan, Abraham Daking Ransom, Alexander Duncanson, Edward Ephraim Pote, Robert Bathurst, George Livius, Thomas Harris, Robert Holme, Thomas Broadhurst, Samuel Wildman, Hugh Austin, Claud Alexander, Robert Francis Cholmondley, Robert Lindsay, William Swainston, John Lloyd, William Haverkam, Richard Teasdale, Robert Gosling.

5. And as Messrs. Cator and Chandler are in Bengal we shall send their covenants to be executed, witnessed, and returned to us by the first opportunity.

6. As the above writers except Messrs. Cator and Chandler have severally executed the new covenants mentioned in our advices of last season by the *Colebrooke*, there will be no necessity for their entering into them on their arrival in Bengal, nor any other servants, either civil or military, whom we now or shall hereafter appoint to proceed from hence, or such as may be permitted to return to their stations.

7. Mr. James King, appointed a cadet for your Presidency last season but whose health prevented him from proceeding thither, now takes passage on

the *Nassau*, and is to rank agreeably to the list of cadets sent by the *Colebrooke* and *Lord Holland*, which was next below Mr. Duncan Campbell.

We are,
Your loving friends,

London,
15th January, 1772.
(Per *Duke of Albany* and
Nassau)

J. Purling / Geo. Dudley / Peter Du
Cane Junr. / Ja. Cockburn / Joshua
Smith / J. Manship / Rd. Bosanquet /
Wm. James / J. Hurlock / Jno. Michie /
Jno. Woodhouse / H. Fletcher / John
Harrison / Edwd. Wheler.

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PUBLIC LETTER DATED 25 MARCH 1772

Shipping: measures to check misconduct of shipmasters such as deviating from the route laid down; setting up of a floating light on the Hooghly commended, but the consent of the other European companies in Bengal considered necessary for levying any duty—supply of goods to Bengal—silk investment: increase in the salaries of Italian artisans—danger from the French and appreciation of the arming of the European population in Calcutta—Burma: escape of Capt. Justice; Burmese King to be asked to surrender Dundas; need to have a settlement on the coast of Pegu—allotment of saltpetre to the Dutch and other European nations—buildings: extravagance and irregularities in the erection of cantonments at Berhampore; no new work to be taken up without previous sanction and the total expenditure on buildings, fortifications, &c. not to exceed £100,000—Supervisors not to be kept in the same charge for more than two years—Raja Durlabhram's succession to his father's jagir—service matters: Bengal Government censured for failure to reimburse its unauthorised payments in respect of the commission on revenue and for re-admitting into service officers who had been dismissed; military officers proceeding to England to represent their grievances to be dismissed—alarm at the great increase in civil and military charges—pargana sepoy to form part of the regular army, different detachments of which were to be detailed on revenue duties by turns—affairs of the Society of Trade.

OUR President and Council at Fort William in Bengal

1. We have advised you in our letters of the 28th and 29th August,¹ 18th December and 22nd January last,² of such particulars as we deemed necessary for your early information, and we shall now give our instructions and observations on the general subjects of your letters and proceedings of the last year under the customary heads,

First, of shipping

2. Having permitted several persons to proceed to Bengal this season for our pilot service as well as some lads to be brought up in that employ, we send on these ships lists of them in the order they are to take precedence.

3. The disappointments and other inconveniences which have resulted from our ships making unnecessary deviations in their voyages outward oblige us to use every means in our power to put an end to a practice so detrimental to our interest. We therefore direct that, in future, on the arrival in Bengal of any of the Company's ships whose commanders shall have disobeyed our orders in deviating under any pretence from their consigned voyages, you do load and dispatch such ships directly to Europe so soon as a proper cargo can be got ready; and this you are to regard as a standing order, which is always to operate in such cases.

4. From the late misconduct of the commanders of our ships we have thought proper, and do hereby direct, that you observe it as a standing order that if any commander of our ships shall in future depart from any port in India without acquainting the Governor and Council of the condition of his ship, if she be leaky or otherwise disqualified for the service she may be intended for, and consulting them on the properest measures to be taken, he shall by that neglect be rendered incapable of serving the Company in future.

5. By our letter of the 18th December last we informed you that from our expectations of the treasuries in Bengal and at Fort St. George being able to provide for more than seven ships, we should direct our servants at Bombay to send two other ships from thence round to your Presidency or Fort St. George to be laden home. And as we have now agreed that the said two ships shall be the *Marquis of Rockingham* and *Hector*, we have accordingly directed our servants at Bombay, as soon after those ships arrive there as possible to lade them with proper cargoes of cotton or other goods and consign them to you to be laden home as before mentioned; but if they cannot both be dispatched home from the Coast or Bay, then the *Marquis of Rockingham* is to be returned from Bengal to Bombay with cargo of saltpetre or other goods or on a private freight (if not detained thereby) in order to receive a loading for England from the Malabar Coast; and in case either of the said ships should, from events as yet unforeseen, be disabled from performing the services before directed, our servants at Bombay are to send another ship in her room on receiving information from you or Fort St. George that such ship is wanted on your side of India.

6. And in case the *Royal Charlotte* shall by any unavoidable accident be prevented from proceeding to China, then it is our pleasure that the *Hector* do proceed thither in her stead.

7. The several instances we have lately experienced of the commanders of our freighted ships refusing to take in the quantities of goods tendered them on the Company's account by our Presidents and Councils in India make it necessary for us to direct that in future if any commander of our freighted ships consigned to your Presidency shall refuse to take in such a quantity of goods as you shall tender him on our account, to the amount at least of the stipulation in the charterparty, and which goods shall be ready to be shipped without

delaying his passage, you are not only to protest against such commander for damages, but must advise the Presidency whereto such goods were to be consigned of such refusal with all the circumstances attending it that they may pursue the positive standing order to ship only the charterparty loading, and not to put on board such ship any surplus tonnage for Europe.

8. Being sensible that placing a light to direct the passage of ships in and out of Bengal river must contribute to the security of the navigation and consequently be an encouragement to the trade of your port, we are pleased to find such a measure has been adopted as you judge will be conducive thereto, we mean the floating light which you have ordered to be erected at the fairway. And as we are desirous of promoting the commerce of Bengal to the utmost of our power, we recommend to you to consider how far the erecting of a lighthouse on Saugar Island would be beneficial to the trade of your Presidency. And in case you shall be of opinion that such security and advantages would thereby accrue to the trade of Bengal as would justify levying a tax on all ships and vessels passing in and out of the river, you will communicate to the agents of the European nations who have settlements in Bengal our desire to carry such a design into execution, and inform them that we are disposed to be at any reasonable expence upon a proper plan being concerted between you, and a stipulation entered into on their part that the ships and vessels of their respective nations shall be subject to such a duty as it may be necessary to levy on those belonging to your Presidency, and which must be rated on the tonnage of all ships and vessels whatsoever.

9. The necessity of the concurrence of the European agents is too obvious to need any explanation, and as the proposed lighthouse must contribute to the benefit of their navigation as well as that of your Presidency, we cannot entertain a doubt of their consenting to the plan suggested to you. But if from particular circumstances the subject of any European power in Bengal should not be authorized to submit their trade to an impost of this kind, you will do well to consider whether, even with their consent, it would be advisable for you to apply to the Nabob to establish by his authority such a duty to be collected on all shipping as would indemnify us for the expences which might be incurred on this account. For you are to observe that however great you may consider the advantages which would accrue to the trade of your port from the erecting a lighthouse on Saugur Island, we cannot admit of your carrying the same into execution by any means which can be deemed an act of power or an infringement of the rights of any nation whatsoever.

10. We have been informed that George Owen, who went from hence Third Mate of the *Harcourt* ran from that ship at Batavia. Should he come to Bengal you are not to fail sending him to England as an unlicensed person.

Secondly, of goods from Europe or from one part of India to another

11. We have in general very fully complied with your indents for medicines agreeable to your earnest request.

12. Your indent for ordnance and ordnance stores has been attentively considered, and such articles are sent as we judged you might stand in need of; but in case we should not have proportioned the quantities to your wants,

19. In respect to the case of Mr. Delaporte which you have recommended to our consideration, we must observe that if we were to suffer our compassion to operate in every instance of distress, we should find our resources in a great degree exhausted for the relief of individuals; and, therefore, we can testify our concern for Mr. Delaporte's situation no further than to direct that if he shall not be in a condition to profit by the permission we have given him to remain in India under free merchant's covenants and shall be desirous of returning to England, he be then allowed and paid one hundred pounds to defray the expence of his passage hither.

20. Notwithstanding the pleasing expectations we have of great improvements being made in the silk manufacture by the method proposed by Mr. Wiss for winding silk from the cocoons, we cannot but approve the caution you have shewn in not complying to the full extent with his application for buildings and furnaces to be erected until you should have experienced the benefit of his new method. And while we trust that you will not admit of any unnecessary expence on this account, we no less assure ourselves that you will not withhold your aid or neglect any proper means for carrying on an undertaking which promises great advantages to so important a branch of our investment.

21. Being desirous to manifest our readiness to encourage the superintendants of the silk filatures in the prosecution of this work, we direct that Messrs. Wiss and Robinson be allowed and paid each two hundred pounds per annum in addition to the salaries we assigned them on their appointments, to commence from the time of your receiving these orders, and we hope and trust this spontaneous instance of our bounty will excite their assiduity and attention to the perfecting the silk manufacture of Bengal.

22. From a like motive as well as from the reasons you have given for increasing the allowances of the Italians employed under Mr. Wiss, we acquiesce in the addition you have made to the salaries under which they had engaged to serve.

23. As there are frequent deficiencies in the bales of piece goods consigned from your Presidency, and which (from the bales being sewed with Indian thread) must happen before they are sent on board, we positively direct that, conformable to the 132d paragraph of our orders of 10th April, 1771, our servants who are employed under the Warehouse Keeper in sorting and packing the bales do each of them sign his name to the tickets which are to be put in the bales they shall so pack, by which means we may in case of any deficiency discover to whose negligence the same is owing, and accordingly require such servants to make good any loss which shall be sustained by us on that account.

Fourthly, of the trade of India, transactions with the country government, &c.

24. Your attention to the security of our possessions and commerce in Bengal in arming the European inhabitants at Calcutta gives us much satisfaction; and we are pleased with this measure not only on account of the defence it may afford your settlement in case the French should attempt to execute any hostile designs against it, but, as by your thus having a perfect

knowledge of the several Europeans who reside under our protection, you may be the better enabled to prevent them from pursuing any steps detrimental to the Company's interest, or injurious to the rights of the natives.

25. As much of the utility of the Militia which has been embodied by you must depend on their being trained and well exercised in arms, we trust that you will not neglect any opportunity to render them well qualified for the purposes for which they were formed. And, in such case, we cannot doubt but that their own and the common good will excite in them a spirit which will lead them to oppose with vigour the efforts of any enemy.

26. And here we cannot forbear renewing our recommendation that you continue to keep a watchful eye on the motions and proceedings of the French in particular, since the force said to be collected or collecting at the Islands cannot be considered as having only self-defence for the object. For although political appearances in Europe are at present pacifick, we cannot but deem it absolutely necessary for you to be at all times upon your guard against a surprize, lest such be meditated by a nation whose commerce and influence having been diminished by our past successes; it may be supposed they will be ready to seize the first favorable opportunity of attempting to re-establish such commerce and to recover their influence amongst the powers of India.

27. The King of Denmark having, on the expiration of the Charter of the Danish East India Company, appointed some persons to settle the conditions of it's renewal, we herewith forward to you for your information on the subject copy of a letter from William Fraser Esqr., Under Secretary of State, dated 30th September last, together with copy of an extract of a letter therein referred to respecting the alterations intended to be made by a new charter. And, so soon as the same shall be established, and we be apprized of the several particulars thereof, we shall not fail to transmit them to you for your guidance in this respect.

28. It affords us much satisfaction to find that Captain Justice has not only escaped from the tyranny and oppression under which he laboured at Pegue, but that he has thereby freed us from the payment of the unjust demand made by Dundas on account of the ship *St. Helena*, which demand you deemed yourselves under the necessity of discharging to prevent Captain Justice from falling a sacrifice to the avarice of Dundas and his undue influence at the Burman's Court.

29. As Captain Justice and the crew of the *St. Helena* sustained such losses and suffered great hardships in the service on which that ship had been ordered, we cannot disapprove of the recompence you have made them for their said losses and sufferings in that unfortunate undertaking.

30. From the late proceedings of Mr. Dundas, we are sensible how little room there is to expect an advantageous intercourse of commerce with the dominions of Pegue while a person of his disposition holds any considerable influence at that Court; but should Dundas be removed from thence, we trust that you will take such measures as prudence shall suggest for cultivating a good understanding with the natives, so that any views we may hereafter have respecting a settlement on that coast may be facilitated by a previous disposition in our favour.

31. We are here led to acquaint you that our servants at Madrass have advised us of their having received two letters from Pegue, the one from Mahomed Sadeck, Head *Shaubunder*, the other from Johannes Moses, the Junior *Shaubunder*, at Rangoon, containing offers of their service in case the Company should think proper to have a settlement there, and assurances that the greatest sanction should be given to our commerce. And, although we concur with our President and Council in their reasons for declining such offers at the present time, we have, nevertheless, declared our approbation of their intentions to keep up a good understanding with the persons now in power by such presents as might be merely sufficient to express a proper sense of those offers and to induce them to believe that Pegue may hereafter be an object of our attention.

32. From this intelligence of our servants at Madrass, we have taken occasion to recommend to them to embrace such an opportunity of signifying to the said *Shaubanders* how much it would oblige us if they would send Mr. Dundas to any of our settlements to answer for his conduct in the treatment of Captain Justice, and we have directed that, in case this point should be obtained, Mr. Dundas be sent to Europe by the first conveyance.

33. As what we have here noticed to you will fully discover our present views in respect to Pegue, and our desire that Mr. Dundas should no longer have it in his power to injure the Company or to oppress British subjects in their trade to Pegue, we shall enlarge no further on this subject than to recommend that, in any future measures respecting a settlement at Pegue, (should such be found expedient,) you do advise with the Presidency at Fort Saint George, and co-operate with them in every point which shall be judged conducive to the Company's interest.

34. It gives us concern to find that the Director and Council of Chinsura should have formed an expectation, and pleaded a right, to a larger proportion of saltpetre than what you were enabled to allot them out of the produce of last season; but as from your records we observe that their plea in point of right appears to be wholly invalidated, and indeed seems to have been relinquished, by their receiving the same proportion in other years without any objection, we hope that upon mature consideration they will be convinced of your having manifested the most friendly disposition towards the Dutch East India Company in the distribution of saltpetre which you have assigned to them. We have therefore only to enjoin you at all times to promote that concord and good understanding which we are solicitous to preserve with the subjects of the States General by affording the Dutch as large a proportion out of the annual produce of saltpetre as can be spared from our own occasions, allowing at the same time for a reasonable share to the agents of other European nations with whom we are also desirous to be on terms of harmony and friendship.

Fifthly, of fortifications, buildings and revenues

35. As the buildings at Chittagong have so long been a heavy expence to the Company, how greatly must we be surprised to find that the plan which has been undertaken at that factory is, at length, declared to be more extensive than was requisite, and has, in consequence, been circumscribed by you.

Hence, we cannot but infer that either you have been inattentive to the Company's interest in permitting an improper plan to be pursued, or that our servants at Chittagong have carried on the said buildings without your knowledge and consent.

36. In this uncertainty we can only declare that in case our servants at that factory have involved us in any expences not authorized by you, we must consider them as responsible to us for all such charges, and direct that they do, forthwith, re-imburse the same to our treasury.

37. You are, nevertheless, to represent to us, fully and impartially, not only the true state of the buildings at Chittagong, but the conduct of all our servants concerned in those buildings, that we may be enabled to judge whether or not we ought to recede from the resolution we have taken to compel our servants to reimburse to us all such expences as shall not have been warranted either by necessity or your consent.

38. As the reasons which have led us to prohibit your engaging in any new works without our express permission operate no less against any considerable buildings being undertaken at your subordinates than against additions being made to the present plan of the new fort, we expect and require that you take care that prohibition be strictly observed at your several factories as well as at your Presidency.

39. We are greatly surprized to find that notwithstanding the enormous sums which have already been expended on the cantonments of Burrumpore, and that the same are still incompleat, you should entertain a thought of involving us in an additional expence for the erection of a wall round those extensive works in order, as is alleged, to keep the soldiery within proper bounds, or to prevent their being intoxicated by the spirit[u]ous liquors which may be introduced into the said cantonments. However desirous we are to prevent an evil of this kind, we must express our displeasure at that readiness with which you agreed to comply with Sir Robert Barker's recommendation of so costly a mode of prevention, more especially as we cannot but be of opinion that by proper care and vigilance in the officers, the private men might be hindered from such immoderate use of spirit[u]ous liquors as would otherwise prove destructive to their health or prejudicial to the service.

40. But as by the heavy expences of the new fort and other buildings you have been constrained to defer the execution of your design to another season, we take this occasion to direct that you do entirely forego all intention of erecting the said wall, or if the same shall have been already undertaken, that you desist from the prosecution of it until you shall receive our further orders in respect thereto.

41. As the charges of your fortifications and buildings have been so great a drain upon your treasury as to contribute to effects severely felt by us, especially in the mode of providing our investments of last season, we cannot sufficiently express our displeasure on finding ourselves disappointed in trusting to assurances repeatedly given us of a speedy completion of the new fort and those other works which have been considered as essentially necessary to the defence and protection of our possessions and commerce in Bengal. And since we have so little reason to rely on any declarations which you have made in this respect, we hereby peremptorily direct that you do not, on any

pretence whatsoever, expend, in one year, more than to the amount of one hundred thousand pounds on the fortifications, cantonments, buildings and works, either at your Presidency or subordinates; and in the expenditure of any part of this sum, we strictly enjoin you to confine your view to the completion of the new fort and such works as are most immediately necessary for the security of our settlements.

42. No other consideration than our earnest desire to have the fortifications of Calcutta completed with all possible expedition could have induced us to apply so large a sum annually for perfecting those and all other necessary works, and we cannot but be of opinion that the same will be more than sufficient for the purposes intended. We therefore expect that you manifest your regard to the Company's interest and orders not only by forbearing to engage in new designs, but by being watchful and attentive to prevent any part of the beforementioned amount being applied to other purposes than those designed and directed by us.

43. From what we have above observed, you will be led to expect that we cannot approve of your permitting apartments to be erected at Mootejill for the assistants to the Council of Revenue; for however inconsiderable may be the expence supposed necessary for such buildings, we have had such experience of the little regard which is had to frugality in constructions of every kind that even though the same shall have been undertaken, you must issue immediate orders that a final stop be put thereto, and that proper houses or apartments be hired for the accommodation of the several persons who shall be employed as assistants to the Council of Revenue, and in this we require you to regard only the health and convenience of our servants, and not to gratify their vanity by needless or sumptuous accommodations.

44. While we indulge ourselves in the hope of seeing our *Duanny* revenues improved by the care of Supervisors appointed to inspect and controul the officers of Government and to superintend the collections, we deem it incumbent on us to guard against any ill effects which may otherwise happen, should our servants in those stations acquire an undue influence in their respective districts. It is therefore our pleasure and we direct that no Superintendent of the collection of revenues be permitted to have charge of any particular district for more than two successive years; and that during his continuance in such station he be not, directly or indirectly, engaged or interested in carrying on any trade in the districts committed to his care; but that at the expiration of the term of two years, such of our servants who may have been employed as Supervisors be permitted to return to the Presidency, or to hold such stations as their rank in our service and the good conduct they shall have discovered in the business of the revenues may entitle them to expect.

45. We, however, must here observe that as the business of the collections must be, in many respects, similar throughout the provinces, we are unwilling to lose the benefit of that knowledge which our servants shall have acquired in the station of Superintendent of the collections, and therefore should any such Superintendent who may have faithfully discharged his trust during the beforementioned term be inclined to continue in the like capacity for a longer time, you are in such case to appoint him to the charge of another district,

where it is not probable that any power and influence acquired in his former residence can be exercised to private advantage.

46. The reasons you have assigned for discontinuing the office of *Aumil* in the business of the revenues are very satisfactory to us, and your recommending to the Nabob the appointment of *Phowzedars* at Houghly and Dacca in order to transact the affairs of the country government with European nations cannot but meet with our approbation, as it entirely coincides with our repeated orders and the ideas we entertain of its being the surest means of avoiding disputes and altercations with all Europeans in the province of Bengal.

47. While your conduct in resuming the *jaghire* which the late Rajah Doolubram enjoyed in the province of Bahar, and in referring to our determination the petition of his son to succeed to his father's appointments, has at once discovered a commendable regard to our interest and respect to our authority, we have cause to complain of your having omitted to furnish us with means of judging how far the young Rajah is entitled to our compassion from any inability to support his rank and the family of his deceased father who are become dependant on him, for we are left wholly uninformed both of his circumstances and the emoluments he receives from any employment held by him under the Government.

48. Being thus uncertain of the real necessities of the young Rajah we can by no means permit our inclination to favor the son on account of his father's services to operate to so great an extent as granting him the *jaghire* which Rajah Doolubram possessed in the Bahar Province, more especially, as upon his utmost title to our compassion, we should prefer the bestowing on him an additional allowance for his services in the station he holds under the Government to the gratifying him with a grant of the *jaghire*. You will therefore give us information in respect to the circumstances, appointments, and merit of Meha Rajah Rajebullub, together with your opinion of what allowance would enable him to support himself and dependants in a suitable manner, and how far he is qualified to render us any services in the affairs of Government, so that we may be fully enabled to determine on the plea of his petition which you have referred to us.

*Sixthly and seventhly, of covenant and military servants,
and their accounts*

49. We have permitted Mr. Francis Charlton, who came to Europe with your license for the benefit of his health, to return to his station in your Council; but as he is not quite recovered we have indulged him to remain in England till next season.

50. Mr. Thomas Rumbold, whom we had appointed by our letter of the 25th April last to be fifth of your Council, has since relinquished the above appointment.

51. As Mr. John Taylor, appointed one of the writers for your Presidency, went last year to Bombay, we have directed our President and Council there to acquaint him with his appointment in case he should be at that place, and

by the *Duke of Grafton* we send his covenants, which are to be executed immediately on his arrival in Bengal and returned by one of the first ships.

52. It being the constant rule of the service for persons to serve five years in the stations they go out in, and is also one of the stipulations in their covenants, it is therefore our pleasure that Mr. Charles Fleetwood do serve five years as a factor.

53. We have permitted Mr. James Barton (who formerly held a civil employ at your Presidency) to return to Bengal in the station of factor to rank next below Mr. Charles Fleetwood.

54. Mr. Francis Fowke appointed a writer for your Presidency in 1769 and whose health did not then permit him to proceed to his station, having since declined the service you must take his name out of your list of covenant servants.

55. We have appointed Mr. Alexander Duncanson to be a writer at your Presidency in the room and with the rank of Mr. George White (who has declined), as advised in our letter of 15th January.

56. We have permitted Messrs. John Sykes and Edward Ephraim Pote, two of the writers appointed this season, to remain in England till next year without prejudice to their rank on account of their ill state of health.

57. As many of our civil servants have of late returned from India to England under various pretences, and after residing here for some years petitioned us for liberty to return to the stations they formerly held in our service, in order to put an end to such applications in future, which are not only troublesome to us but injurious to our servants abroad, we are fully determined that no member of your Council or in any other civil employ at your Presidency shall, after he arrives in England, have our permission to return to his rank and station, unless it shall appear to be recorded on your Consultations that at the time you allowed him to leave India he did not resign or entirely relinquish our service, and in consequence thereof on his arrival here shall prefer a memorial to us signifying his inclinations to return when his health is restored or his private affairs are adjusted.

58. We are highly displeased at your disobedience to our orders of 23d March, 1770, respecting the reimbursement of all such sums which had been paid by our servants out of the commission of 2½ per cent to such persons to whom we had not thought fit to assign any share thereof; and we cannot forbear testifying our surprise that the repugnance which you evidently shew to the execution of those commands should be founded on the plea you have offered in your justification.

59. Were it possible we could be persuaded that our Council had, as you allege, been induced to this step from a full persuasion that the surplus arising from such commission was intended as a recompence to those servants in Bengal whose particular profession and situation made them proper objects of our consideration, we could not but be impressed with an idea either of your want of judgment or attention; for upon the least advertence to the 117th paragraph of our orders of 20th November, 1767, and to the 182d paragraph of our letter of 16th March, 1768, which ought to have been the rule of their conduct, they could not have been under any difficulty concerning

the purposes to which we meant to apply such surplus as might arise from the unappropriated shares of the said commission. Or, even had that been possible, certainly we had reason to believe that they would have been sufficiently restrained by our express injunction of 20th November, 1767, which positively directs that *the surplus should be carried to the Company's credit under the head of unappropriated commission until you shall receive further orders from us concerning the disposition of it.*

60. And, therefore, in referring this matter to our further consideration, you have only discovered an unjustifiable partiality to such of our servants who had acted in violation of our orders, and by not requiring immediate repayment of such sums as had been unduly paid out of the said surplus, you have manifested as little regard to our interest as to our commands, and so far are we from being disposed to recede from our orders of 23d March, 1770, that we hereby renew and confirm the same. You are therefore forthwith to demand and receive of the several members of our Council who consented to the payment of any share or shares of the said commission not warranted by us, or, in case of their absence from your Presidency, of their respective attornies or agents, the amount of the several sums which have been so unduly paid out of the said commission; and if such members of our Council, their attornies or agents, shall refuse or neglect to pay the same immediately into our treasury at Fort William, we direct that you forthwith proceed to an attachment of their effects in like manner as we directed should be done in the 42d paragraph of our letter of 28th August, 1771, respecting the reimbursement which we required of those members of our Council who had involved us in the payment of damages for non-payment of a bill of exchange drawn for the first moiety of the Navy Donation.

61. The motives which induced you to restore Mr. Keighley to the station from which he had been degraded for neglect and misbehaviour in respect to balancing the books of Military Paymaster General are far from justifying you in that measure. Had you paid the least attention to our orders of the 20th November, 1767, you could not have thought him entitled to any such indulgence upon the commendation given him by the Military Paymaster, since you would there have found that his *continuance* in our service and not a *restoration* to his *rank* was to depend upon his further diligence and good conduct. You have therefore incurred our displeasure in proceeding so far without our permission; and as we do not deem the negligence which occasioned Mr. Keighley's degradation sufficiently attoned for by so short a trial of his diligence, we direct that he do remain fixed in the station to which he had been degraded until we find more valid reasons for remitting entirely the punishment which his former misconduct had so justly drawn upon him.

62. Lieutenant Colonel Leslie, soon after his return to England, presented to us a memorial complaining that Lieutenant Colonel Sempill and himself had been superceded by your having appointed three supernumerary Lieutenant Colonels subsequent to the date of Lieutenant Colonels Sempill and Leslie's commission and before their arrival in India, and that Lieutenant Colonel Morgan, whom we had fixed to the rank of Major, had been also placed before them. Having in our orders of 23d March, 1770, concurred in the promotion of Lieutenant Colonels Galliez and Ironside, we direct that Lieutenant Colonels Sempill and Leslie do rank next to Lieutenant Colonel

Gilbert Ironside ; and as we find you had given Major Morgan a commission of Lieutenant Colonel previous to the receipt of our orders for restricting his rank, we shall acquiesce in the appointment, but it is our express will and pleasure that he remain always the youngest Lieutenant Colonel on the list of officers in Bengal.

63. Having a very favorable opinion of the military abilities of Major Alexander Dow and having remitted the offence of many of the officers concerned in the general association in 1766, we have thought proper to restore him to the rank he would have held on your establishment had he never engaged in that transaction, which rank we find to be next below Lieutenant Colonel Cumming. He is however to receive the usual pay and allowances of Captain only until the field officers at your Presidency shall be reduced to the number fixed by the last establishment, of six lieutenant colonels and nine majors of infantry and seapoys, but he is then to be allowed the full pay and emoluments of Lieutenant Colonel.

64. We have considered the case of Captain Arther Ahmuty who was concerned in the general association in 1766 and which you refer to our consideration in your letter of the 25th August, 1770 ; and as there does not appear to us any particular objection against his receiving the same favor which hath been extended to other officers in the like circumstances, we have agreed, and do hereby accordingly order, that he do rank in the list of military officers at your Presidency next under Major John Upton, which rank he would have held had he not forfeited it by the association in 1766, but he is to be under the like restriction as to pay and emoluments which is directed to be observed in the case of Major Dow until the field officers shall be reduced to the number mentioned in the preceeding paragraph.

65. It has been represented to us that by our granting a major's brevet last year to Mr George Boulton Eyres he was placed in a rank he was not entitled to, and thereby several officers who were promoted to companies before him have been superceded ; and as we are desirous of rectifying such mistake we direct that notwithstanding our orders of last season which ascertained Mr. Eyre's rank, you do place him on your military list next under that officer, the date of whose commission as captain immediately preceded Mr. Eyre's commission for the same rank, without retrospect to any former orders for settling his rank for any degree below that of captain.

66. We were led into the above appointment from your having omitted to send us the registers of commissions granted to military officers for several years past in breach of our repeated orders. We therefore direct that you do not fail sending us compleat registers of promotions and casualties from the year 1764, being the last books of commissions received, and the same must be sent annually in duplicate, as we shall not fail testifying our resentment for any future omissions.

67. We have considered your representation of Major Samuel Sears's case in respect to rank, as also a memorial lately preferred to us here on his behalf, and can by no means think of affording Mr Sears any relief therein, as from thence many insuperable difficulties would arise to us in our present military system.

68. We have permitted Captain Robert Coxe to return to his rank on

your military establishment; and in consideration of his expences, trouble and attendance as a witness in the suit at law instituted by Mr. Bolta, we have presented him with one hundred pounds, and also advanced him two hundred pounds to defray the charges of his return to Bengal on his bond to repay the same out of his growing pay and effects there within twelve months after his arrival at your Presidency. The bond is enclosed in the *Duke of Grafton's* packet.

69. As Lieutenant Colonel Dow has not recovered his health and Lieutenant Colonel Leslie not yet settled his private affairs, we have permitted them to remain in England until next season.

70. Upon considering the case of Mr. James Broadbent, ensign at your Presidency at the time of the general resignation in 1766, we have thought fit to readmit him into our service on your establishment with the rank of youngest Lieutenant upon his arrival. He accordingly takes passage on the *Prince of Wales*, in which ship's packet is sent a copy of his commission.

71. Lieutenant George Wright and Lewis Smith, who came to England with your licence, are permitted to return to your Presidency without prejudice to their ranks, and we shall send copies of their commissions in the ships' packets on which they take passage.

72. Mr. William Richardson, who was appointed a cadet last season but was then prevented from proceeding to his station by a severe fit of illness, has had our permission to take passage on one of the ships of this season, to rank agreeable to the list sent per *Colebrooke* and *Lord Holland*, which was next below Robert Baynes.

73. The friends of Lieutenant Charles Pemble have represented to us that upon his being removed from Bombay to Bengal he was placed as youngest ensign on your establishment; yet upon the arrival of Lieutenant Fireworker Samuel Sears from the same Presidency, the latter, though his junior at Bombay, had been ranked before him. Upon reference to the circumstances here mentioned we find that Lieutenant Pemble was removed from Bombay in order to be employed under Colonel Campbell in the Engineer Corps. It is therefore our pleasure, and we positively direct, that he be restricted to remain in that Corps according to the rank he held at Bombay; and we further direct that Lieutenant Sears be removed to and fixed in the Artillery, to which Corps he belonged at Bombay, to rank according to the date of the commission he held at that Presidency.

74. Your conduct in respect of Mr. Madec's application for a pardon for having deserted our service meets with our entire approbation, as nothing but an unquestionable evidence of his desire to atone for such defection can entitle him to that favour which he appears solicitous to obtain. And as your judgment has led you to make a trial, both of his inclination and ability, to render us essential service previous to your entering into any agreement with him, we trust it must be needless for us to recommend to you to be cautious in your correspondence with him, lest the discovery of your views and intentions should be perverted to other purposes than those of the Company's advantage.

75. We cannot sufficiently testify our surprize at what you declare to have been of late the usage at Fort William in respect to engineer officers